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## Are the Wets Hypocrites in Their Plea For State Rights?

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R. SAMUEL JOHNSON'S famous  
definition of "patriotism" as "the  
of a scoundrel" needs  
state rights." All

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public roads, irrigation  
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rages. Infected corn may be stopped at the border of any State and autos searched to see if it is being transported. A fraud order by the Post Office may close a business enterprise. The rates of railroads may be passed upon by a Federal board. Even the safety of migratory birds may be regulated by Federal action. No serious protest arises from the watchdogs of State sovereignty. But the hour when the moral sense of the nation outlaws the greatest source of crime, poverty, disease and misery, is the hour when from a thousand parched throats that have held their peace when only hogs were protected, there rises to heaven a strident shriek of horror that men, women and children should be saved from the clutch of greedy brewers.

The Mann act, intended to prohibit interstate traffic in immoral women, is possibly the most direct transgression of State rights by the Federal Government. But since white slavery is not so well organized and financed as the brewery trade, it has not been able to enlist the eloquent leaders who would nullify the Constitution rather than permit its enforcement to interfere with the exploitation of human

fense of democracy against corrupt government. It is invoked today in defense of the greatest corrupting agency in our political history and against the will of democracy as expressed in legal and orderly fashion at the polls. The great exponents of this policy, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, Albert Sidney Johnston and the long roll of heroes of the gray did not bare their swords in defense of the sovereign rights of their States to license the brewer and the barkeeper. They upheld a governmental theory to which they were consistently loyal. They have honest and sincere followers today who are equally consistent. But there is a deep gulf fixed between these giants who saw the nation as a "gentlemen's agreement" between separate and sovereignly independent States, and the pygmies of today who are profoundly indifferent to every possible "right" or "privilege" of their States except when the attack is on some vice masquerading as a business while it coins the passions and the tears of women and children into golden profits.

The swiftness with which the foes of prohibition abandon their "State rights" pose for some such scheme as the Government control of liquor illustrates the weakness of their protest against the "Federal invasion."

#### WETS ARE SILENT

When frequently  
Congress  
has



and Charles the First. We were parochially minded. The very conditions of the age made this inevitable. The differences between the various States were clear cut. Massachusetts had little in common with Virginia and Rhode Island almost nothing in common with either. The Swedes of Delaware and the Highlanders of the Carolinas were of different blood, customs and speech from the Quakers of Pennsylvania or Oglethorpe's sons in Georgia. Traditions and religion carved this abyss of separation even deeper. The barriers of distance intensified it. An economic policy that might suit New York would prove disastrous to the Southern group of States. We were THESE United STATES. We had no organic union.

It was inevitable in that early age that we should be jealous of State rights. Even the State itself then seemed an unwieldy body. The town-meeting loomed larger than the State Legislature or than the far-off, little understood Congress. Men boasted that they were "citizens of no mean city." Had not transportation facilities grown rapidly, our political life might have become almost tribal instead of national. This was the age when State rights had a popular appeal and a significance little understood today.

But this is 1926. State frontiers are only nominal. We are becoming standardized in many things. We thus set free the mind and spirit to deal with life in fuller measure. Kansas, Maine, Florida and Washington have the same styles, see the same movies, read the same comic strips, use the same slang, eat the same varieties of canned goods and listen by radio to the same jazz. The eccentric Charleston sweeps from a Southern town to the Bering Straits. One world's series baseball game packs the sidewalk before the bulletin boards in White River Junction, Vt.; in Ultima Thule, Ark., and in Ensenada, Cal. We are one nation. Instead of a provincial consciousness, we have evolved a national consciousness. With Kipling's youthful hero, we can say, "I am an American first, last and all the time." Once generations were born, lived and died in the same community where a newcomer was viewed as a foreigner. Today almost any Main Street contains natives of half the States and

there are countless homes where no two members of the family were born in the same State.

### IMAGINARY FRONTIER LINES

Under these changed conditions, the old theory of State rights has lost its early significance. We have learned that neither good nor evil halt at State boundaries. The gypsy moth and the booze peddler alike recognize no sanctity in imaginary frontier lines. Neither can any sentimental theorizing about State rights limit the operation of economic laws over these artificial barriers. Whether some approve or not, we are one. "*E Pluribus Unum*" is not an empty symbol. Our union is organic and not mechanical.

No State can protect or cultivate any evil thing and confine it within its borders. If one careless State allows the foot and mouth disease to flourish among its four-footed cattle, the herds in its neighbor States cannot escape eventual infection. No one denies so self-evident a truth when it concerns quadrupeds, but when the foot and mouth disease is promoted by the brass rail and the stein of beer and affects bipeds and not quadrupeds, then the secret spokesmen and press agents of the brewer invoke the shades of the fathers and brush off the dust from the family Bible to find a State rights text in the ancient chronicles of the past.

It was because of the failure of State rights to check the constant invasion of the dry States by the lawless agents of the brewer and distiller that the States, by the vote of 46 out of their total of 48, agreed that this was a question of State wrongs and not State rights, and outlawed this evil. They made, in that hour, the same distinction which Prime Minister MacDonald made when the liquor peers of his own land sought to embroil him with his Labor following and asserted that restrictions on drink invaded a right of the working man. In clear-cut words this master of men and of language drew the distinction which the rank and file of America also discerned but which the "wet" minority cannot see, when he declared: "We must differentiate the rights that are of good report from the rights that are of evil report, and we say: Do not cling for five minutes to a right



that is of no value. If the rich want to keep the road open to their own loss, that is their affair, and the democracy ought not to say, 'because one class has such and such a right, all classes ought to claim the same right.' It is not worth it. Let us see to it that the rights the democracy claims, that the rights the working classes claim, are rights worth having, and not rights that come with disease and canker and vice in their train. \* \* \* The right to go wrong, to go down, to go astray—well, we will make a present of these rights to any one who wants them."

It was because the traffic in intoxicants was wrong and because it could not be confined within any segregated limits, even were those limits as broad as a State, that the people of America, through their legal representatives elected on this then paramount issue, adopted constitutional prohibition for the entire nation. Lesser remedies had been tried first. The famous bone-dry law of Senator Reed of Missouri had failed. The Webb-Kenyon act, intended to stop liquor shipments from wet into dry territory, had failed to accomplish its purpose. The purveyors of liquor would not recognize the right of any State to deal with the liquor traffic within its own borders. They broke every law that interfered with their manufacturing of drunkards, murderers, orphans, paupers, lunatics, corrupt politicians and brewery barons. If State rights are dead as a political issue, it is not because the dry forces of the nations used the executioner's axe but because the brewer and the distiller played the assassin.

#### FUNCTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

There are governmental acts which are best performed by small communities. A host of local problems are best settled by the town council. Special interests and the accidental conditions of a hamlet or a county control the minor details of public life in these units of government. No distant authority can legislate properly for these details. But there are larger problems, policies which are not local but national, interests which involve the whole republic as well as Four Corners. These must be faced in a larger forum than the town meeting. William G. McAdoo put

this well in a recent speech when he said: "Properly understood, the doctrine of States' rights is at the basis of our whole system of government and of healthy government everywhere. Properly understood the doctrine of States' rights is nothing but the doctrine of local self-government. Local self-government means that every community is entitled to decide matters which are exclusively its own concern and which involve no other community, without interference from the outside. It emphatically does not mean under our Federal form of government that one State by its action or inaction is entitled to interfere with matters which are of vital concern to other States or to the whole nation."

Prohibition is only one of these major issues, but today it is the one on which the whole brunt of the attack of the foes of constitutional government falls.

The failure of the States to succeed in the control of the lawless liquor traffic is only one of the many failures of the States, separately, in dealing with questions that were not properly State but national ones. There was a period when State rights advocates by the act of 1792 stripped the National Government of its army and trusted to the separate States to provide national defense. The theory was magnificent. It was almost as attractively presented as the liquor group's argument for State control of the liquor question—and as erroneous. On paper we had a wonderful army, elaborately organized into battalions, brigades and divisions. But when the War of 1812 came the system collapsed. It required 527,654 soldiers to fight a war whose single land victory was won—at New Orleans—after the war was over. The British never had more than 16,500 soldiers in this country and Canada in any one year. In that same year—1814—we had 235,839 soldiers in our armies but could not prevent the British invaders from burning the Capitol and chasing the President, Congress, the Supreme Court and an army of American soldiers that outnumbered the invaders out of the Capital city. When a national problem is concerned, whether the war be with a foreign power or with a lawless domestic foe, "in union there is strength."

The advantages of cooperative collective



action, when compared to individual action, are recognized today in every field of activity except in this solution of the liquor problem. Not only the national security, regulation of foreign and interstate commerce, uniformity of naturalization, protection of the national credit, coinage and the long list of other matters expressly committed to Congress by the Constitution, but many less important matters are today being referred to the national rather than to the State legislative system. The tendency is toward more and not less Federal action. Uniformity of legislation is alone thus obtainable on the more important questions that affect our welfare. This does not necessarily mean centralized government, but it does mean standardized and uniform conditions under which we can best work out our problems.

#### REAL PERIL OF BUREAUCRACY

The bogie-man of "government by bureaucracy" is conjured up by the opponents of prohibition. Whatever peril there may be in a possible bureaucracy does not arise from the neglect of the ballot by nearly one-half of the citizens of the nation. If genuine self-government is in danger it is not because of the Eighteenth Amendment. That amendment is the only one which expressly places upon the States the duty of enforcement concurrent with the Federal Government. It provides for cooperative effort against a recognized and outlawed evil—the liquor traffic. Under that amendment not alone have State Legislatures acted in the adoption of State enforcement codes, but the municipal governments of towns and cities have equally exercised their powers. Prohibition has adopted the sterling qualities in State rights and affords them every opportunity for exercise. It has rejected only the weaknesses.

The Volstead act follows the Eighteenth Amendment in its recognition of the rights

of the States. It expressly recognizes the authority of peace officers in the States and provides for the exercise of that authority in the enforcement of a policy to which the State itself is pledged. This is State rights in opposition to State wrongs.

"State rights" imply "State responsibilities." *Noblesse oblige*. Privilege imposes duties. Neither Davis nor Yancey nor Toombs ever advocated "State rights" as a method of escaping obligations. They desired to do their full measure of duty. While Senator from Mississippi Jefferson Davis set forth this conception of "State rights" interwoven with "State duty" which should be memorized by those who are trying to spread the mantle of this doctrine over the beer barrel and the wine cask: "I hope that none who hear me will confound this expression of mine with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union, and to disregard its constitutional obligations by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Nullification and secession so often confounded, are indeed antagonistic principles."

Rights meant duty then. They still mean duty. On duty the Supreme Court has uttered a trenchant phrase never quoted by the States rights pleaders for the brewer today: "If the prohibition did not define the intoxicating beverages which it prohibited, in the absence of anything to the contrary, it clearly, from the very fact of its adoption, lays upon Congress the duty not only of defining the prohibited beverages, but also of enacting such regulations and sanctions as were essential to make them operative when defined."

If the obligation conferred upon Congress by the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment is of a positive character, no reason can be adduced from the reading of the language of the section itself why the obligation resting upon the States to enact appropriate legislation to enforce the amendment is not equally obligatory.



# Conversion of the Churches From Wet to Dry

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**F**ERMENTED liquors contain so little spirit, and that so intimately combined with other matters, that they can seldom be drunken in sufficient quantities to produce intoxication, and its subsequent effects, without exciting a disrelish to their taste, or pain from their distending the stomach. They are, moreover, when taken in a moderate quantity, generally innocent, and often have a friendly influence upon health and life."

Barring English style, that sounds like wet propaganda for modification of the Volstead act. The quotation, however, is taken from the opening paragraph of a pamphlet by Benjamin Rush, M. D., Professor of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania and a distinguished Revolutionary surgeon, who is credited with being the father of the modern temperance movement. The centenary of the first printing of his famous publication, *An inquiry into the effects of ardent spirits upon the human body and mind*, was celebrated in 1885 by the advocates of that reform.

"Abstain both from the unlawful vending of spirits and from purchasing and drinking spirits where they are sold in contravention of the law; \* \* \* civility does not require, and expediency does not permit, the production of ardent spirits as a part of hospitable entertainment in social visits." How familiar that sentiment in these days of defense of the Constitution with particular respect for the Eighteenth Amendment. Yet it is a recommendation directed "to the members of our churches" and found in the report of the Temperance Committee before the General

Association of Congregational Churches of Connecticut which met in June, 1812. Apparently the "Whisky Rebellion" was not confined to Western Pennsylvania.

These quotations suggest that we need to turn the light of history on the popular notion that prohibition in the United States is the recrudescence of Puritanism. As a byproduct of such an effort will be found an explanation of the recent conflict among religious forces over the right and the results of the Volstead law.

Colonial New England is noted not for prohibition but for rum. The Puritans came to the New World "not only eating but drinking," and here they invented that peculiarly virulent form of beverage which together with molasses and slaves made up the historic triad of early American commerce.

Dr. Rush, in his pioneer document, declares that the only religious bodies which had up to that time taken action toward restricting the use of intoxicants, even among their own members, were the Quakers and the Methodists. The former have retained in their *Discipline* the standard of total abstinence, though there have been periods of laxity in its practical application. As for the American followers of Wesley, there was an early official abandonment of the founder's position. The English leader had advocated not only total abstinence from but also prohibition of "spirituous liquors." Legal measures are nowhere mentioned in the early Methodist records, but according to the minutes of a conference of the church held in 1783 the following sentiment was adopted: "Question. Should our friends be permitted to make spirituous liquors and sell and drink them in drams? Answer. By no means. We think it wrong in its nature and consequences." This question and

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\*This article is based upon thorough and detailed documentation, so that any reader requiring the sources of any of the statements made by the author may obtain them by writing to him.



answer do not appear in the *Discipline*, drawn up the next year and first published in 1785. The only test on this subject to be found in the initial edition is as follows:

"Q. 23. May our Ministers or Traveling-Preachers drink spirituous liquors? A. By no means, unless it be medicinally." This was left out of the next issue (1786), and the editor of the reprint points out the omission as "very significant."

#### METHODISTS' EARLY ATTITUDE

Included in the 1789 edition of the *Discipline* are what are known as the "General Rules." One of the evils set down therein as to be avoided is described thus: "Drunkenness, *buying or selling spirituous liquors; or drinking them.*" This was relaxed the following year to read: "Drunkenness or drinking spirituous liquors, unless in case of necessity." That left a good deal of room for interpretation, and as appears from the succeeding record we may reasonably infer that by 1790 the Methodists had removed or practically annulled all restriction on alcoholic beverages.

That this was no momentary decline of interest in the subject is shown by later developments. At the organization of the quadrennial General Conference in 1792 one of the instructions to preachers was changed from "vigorously, but calmly, enforce the rules concerning needless ornaments and drams" to "enforce vigorously, but calmly, all the rules of the Society," which was at least consistent. Four years later it was declared: "Far be it from us to wish or endeavor to intrude upon the proper religious and civil liberties of any of our people, but the retailing of spirituous liquors and giving drams to customers when they call at the stores are such prevalent customs at present, and are productive of so many evils, that we judge it our indispensable duty to form a regulation against them. The cause of God, which we prefer to every other consideration under heaven, absolutely requires us to step forth with humble boldness in their [this?] respect." How far their boldness carried them is shown in the following insertion in the *Discipline*: "Ques. 20. What directions shall be given concerning the sale and use of spirituous liquors?"

Ans. If any member of our society retail or give spirituous liquors, and anything disorderly be transacted under his roof on this account, the preacher who has the oversight of the circuit shall proceed against him as in the case of other immoralities" and judgment be meted accordingly. Again, establishing something "disorderly," "under his roof" and on account of the sale or gift, left plenty of leeway. In other words, though there was a clear recognition of the practical non-existence of any regulation over the members with respect to the sale and use of intoxicants, the majority of the conference would not support an effective rule. Thus the matter stood for another twenty years.

Drinking continued to be general and extensive among all communions in the early years of the nineteenth century, even at official functions. "Till about 1820 \* \* \*," says an ecclesiastical writer,

"liquors were freely furnished at the associations, conventions, assemblies or whatever other name was given to the general meetings of the various denominations, and often the cost of these so-called 'refreshments' exceeded all other expenses of the occasion, as was also the case at the laying of cornerstones, raising frames and dedication of church edifices, the ordination, settlement or dismissal of ministers."

This evidence is corroborated by a description of the circumstances which led to certain of the earliest efforts to change these conditions. The Temperance Committee of the National Council of Congregational Churches in the United States, recounting in 1913 a century of reform within that communion, declares: "The use of ardent spirits had become well-nigh universal." Dr. Rush's appeal "had produced little effect." In 1811, at two ordinations, "the drinking had been excessive. As was customary, the liquors were provided by the society [which was entertaining in each case]. A broad sideboard at the parsonage was covered with decanters, bottles, sugar and drinking glasses. As the delegates could not all drink at once they waited their turn like customers at the mill. One attendant at the Plymouth ordination testifies that the sideboard, with the spillings of water, sugar and liquor, looked and smelled like 'the bar of a very



active grogshop,' and further certifies that 'the smoke from the pipes was so great that you couldn't see, and the stories and jocular talk reached the maximum of hilarity.' After both these ordinations some of the members of each local society complained because the expense for liquors was so great."

#### USE OF "ARDENT SPIRITS"

In the same year (1811) at the meeting of the General Association of Congregational Churches of Connecticut, held in a similar atmosphere, a committee was appointed to correspond with other religious bodies and devise action on the subject of temperance in the use of "ardent spirits." This motion was carried, to quote the text, "in consequence of a resolution passed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church," which in the previous month (May), after twenty-five years urging by Dr. Rush—himself a member of that communion—had at last responded to his appeal for support of his temperance efforts. When the committee of the former body reported at the sessions of 1813, while it deprecated the conditions, it concluded that nothing could be done. Whereupon, Lyman Beecher, a young preacher, who had experienced strong revulsion from the scenes described above, protested so vigorously that he was made Chairman of a new committee, one of whose recommendations was quoted in the second paragraph of this article. Two years later the General Convention of Universalists, likewise responding to the Philadelphia physician's appeal, expressed disapproval of the custom of drinking at church gatherings and requested local societies not to furnish liquor at subsequent meetings.

Despite such examples of temperance reform, the Methodist General Conference, in 1812, after trying four times to avoid a decision by tabling the matter, finally defeated a resolution, "That no stationed or local preacher shall retail spirituous or malt liquors, without forfeiting his ministerial character with us." At the next quadrennial session this action was reversed, but an effort to discourage "by every prudent means" the traffic among the membership as a whole failed, as it did also four years thereafter. Though

strong sounding, but innocuous, resolutions about drinking were passed in 1823, members and preachers, says a later Methodist writer, were in the business and discipline had declined.

Certain facts concerning these temperance beginnings have special bearing on our discussion. These religious bodies were bent primarily on cleaning their own houses. The first society aiming at the reformation of the drinking habits of the general population was non-ecclesiastical and was set up in 1808 at Moreau, Saratoga County, N. Y. Its organizers have been called "the founders of a new enterprise," who provided the pattern for the activities of later groups. While many of the early leaders of the secular phase of this movement were church members, the slowness of the denominations in committing themselves apparently shows the majority view. In other words, the reformers had to build up extra-ecclesiastical machinery of operations with which they attacked conditions in the sects as well as in society at large. Again, though revivalistic methods were adopted by agencies outside and inside the churches, yet in both cases, from the beginning, the opposition to intoxicants was based upon the evil bodily effects on the drinker and upon the social and economic consequences. Moreover, in these first developments there is not the least suggestion of any form of legal restriction, to say nothing of prohibition. Nor could this have been for lack of the idea, since Wesley, as we have seen, had advocated such measures. Lastly, the only beverages in disfavor are those classed as "ardent spirits," or "spirituous liquors." Considerable ground has still to be covered before the adoption of a maximum alcoholic content of one-half of 1 per cent.

The several stages in this development should be clearly distinguished in order to avoid confusion by the use of the general term "temperance" to describe the whole movement. They are moderation in the use of ardent spirits, total abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, total abstinence from everything that intoxicates, legislative restriction, State prohibition, national prohibition and world prohibition. Two lines of progress are involved—the greater inclusiveness of the band and the addition



of legal suppression to moral and ecclesiastical restraint—and these in part parallel each other. Every step forward brought about a struggle between radical and conservative forces within secular and within religious circles.

#### DRUNKENNESS AT CHURCH GATHERINGS

No church would at any time have approved drunkenness officially, though practically all of them ignored it even in their own gatherings. Although Beecher declares there was no intoxication at the ordination scenes which he described, the point of passage beyond mere hilarity is a matter of opinion, often determined by one's sympathy for the parties in question. As we have seen, when the evil thrust itself in so revolting a fashion into their very midst they sought to deal with the immediate problem, namely, excessive use of ardent spirits. In time certain leaders, secular as well as religious, came to the belief that the only hope of checking the ravages of intemperance was in total abstinence; and beverages which had once seemed not only harmless but actually beneficial were looked upon as of a piece with the evil. These steps were made slowly. Not until 1840 did the General Assembly of the New School Presbyterians go on record in support of "the only true principle of temperance, total abstinence from everything that will intoxicate." At the same time it urged the members to disentangle "themselves from all implications with the traffic and manufacture" of alcoholic stimulants. On the other hand, the more conservative Old School Assembly, in 1842, when asked by one of the lower judicatories "whether the manufacturer, vender or retailer of intoxicating drinks" should be dismissed from the church, declared that it could not "sanction the adoption of any new terms of communion." It took twenty-three years of further agitation for this body to arrive at the conclusion that such a test did not really constitute a "new term" (since, they said, it was involved in the standards already set up), and so to vote to sanction it. Likewise, though the Methodists established the ban against "intoxicating liquors as a beverage" in 1848, exactly two decades more elapsed before they resolved that "ale,

lager beer, cider, wines, and strong drink are intended to be included under the term spirituous liquors," which certainly was not the original interpretation of the *Discipline*.

Although churches were thus slowly but surely moving to the adoption of the more inclusive ban, it should be noted that general societies had preceded practically all of them in that action. In 1836 the majority in the American Temperance Union declared for "total abstinence *from all that can intoxicate*." Some local agencies were even earlier in that advance and many others immediately followed. A determined minority, however, caused a division within the reform camp, and in view of the fact that among the latter were numerous prominent religious leaders, the conservatism of the denominations on this point seems more clearly to indicate opposition to so radical a position.

Even more difficult was the conversion of the ecclesiastical organizations to the policy of supporting legal suppression of the liquor traffic. This fact carries greater weight for our discussion when one sees the general status of the reform. With the realization of the failure of moral suasion as a method of furthering temperance, the demand for legislative restriction steadily increased during the decade of the '30's. Then, as evasion and repeals hampered the milder forms of control, the next ten years saw the first steps toward prohibition. Certain church leaders, notably Lyman Beecher and President Francis Wayland of Brown University, expressed approval of this principle, at least with regard to ardent spirits; but during these new developments the religious bodies either remained silent on the subject or spoke in guarded declarations as to methods. Even when urging total abstinence, the New School Presbyterians voted to "leave the particular form of action to the wisdom and prudence" of the members and local judicatories. That attitude is typical in the early stages of the movement. The Old School sect, in 1848, sought to encourage its members to join secular societies and to work to save them "from the excesses to which they are liable from influences opposed to or aside from the Gospel of Christ." Apparently, there should be tem-



perance in temperance reform. Moreover, one may suspect, in view of the situation, that the use of such phrases as "scriptural measures" and "Christian methods" indicates a conviction that prohibition was not in accordance with the Bible. A thoroughgoing statement of this principle, made by Bishop John Henry Hopkins of the Episcopal Diocese of Vermont, voiced opposition not only to legal restraint, but also to the whole reform effort because, as was said, it set up a man-made organization in the place of the divinely ordained church for accomplishing the salvation of the world.

#### RELATION TO POLITICS

Closely related to this position was the declaration that the peculiar function of the churches was the exerting of spiritual influence, not furthering political action. For example, the Old School Presbyterians said in 1856: "It [the temperance reform] is gradually assuming a new and, we hope, a more effective form—the civil aspects of the subject claiming the attention of the legislative bodies and its moral and religious bearings the attention of the churches, whose mission it is to hold forth that gospel which is the power of God unto salvation from this and all other evils." Likewise, at the first meeting of a national council of Congregational churches in 1865, resolutions expressed thankfulness for "the aid of legislation," but proclaimed that the main reliance must be on "moral and spiritual appliances." The majority voted to strike out of the original propositions mention of "prohibition," because its inclusion committed them "to that particular style of legislation." Nevertheless, the record of the debates reveals opposition to the principle of prohibition. The Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon of Connecticut maintained that "the temperance cause was wrecked on the rock of the Maine law." He denounced "the quackery of such legislation," which he described as a "scheme of legislating alcohol out of the creation of God." Yet an effort to exclude all reference favorable to the legal phase of the liquor question failed in the council.

With respect to the political side of the temperance reform, the Episcopal Church has followed strictly to the present day its ecclesiastical policy of silence, just as it

did in the case of the slavery issue before the Civil War. Members of that communion formed an unofficial organization, the Episcopal Temperance Society, which by its recent pronouncement apparently still adheres to the original meaning of its name; but other leaders have been advocates of prohibition, as shown by the expressions of personal opinion by a majority of the present Bishops.

Other Protestant denominations, however, gradually came to the position that the liquor traffic was a menace to the whole social organization, threatening even the success of the spiritual enterprise. Under this conviction they no longer looked upon prohibition as merely a method, but as a fundamentally religious principle, though it was to be made effective through legislation. This has been a common process of development. In 1836 the Methodist General Conference, by a vote of 120 to 14, condemned two of its members for lecturing on "modern abolitionism" and disclaimed any intention of interfering with "the legal relation of master and slave"; but after the division into North and South bodies, sentiment in the former rapidly changed until they openly avowed the new doctrine and rescinded the earlier action. Likewise, the Anglican churchmen in certain of the newly liberated American States sought to continue the establishment of that sect, though, unlike the Puritans in New England, they failed in that purpose. Today, however, these denominations, like all others, would speak quickly and vigorously in defense of the separation of Church and State, just as they would in condemnation of any effort to re-enslave the negro. In other words, that which in one age is opposed as contrary to religion, in time first becomes merely a political question and then assumes the character of a vital religious issue.

Churches, however, like other social groups, usually make such changes slowly. Yet by the time the various ecclesiastical bodies had come to the point of advocating prohibition they had also extended the ban, and as a consequence they sought the suppression of every form of intoxicant.

Two decades, the '50s and the '80s, are notable for the occurrence of official ecclesiastical pronouncements on prohibition,



and these are also periods when agitation for this form of legislation was general. In fact, the first actions of the religious bodies in this matter were taken in approval of practical efforts already under way. "The Maine Law" was passed in 1851 after two attempts, in 1846 and 1848, with ineffective statutes. Diligent search in the available original records and careful reading of two encyclopaedic accounts by church writers have failed to reveal advocacy of legal suppression by any communion before those dates, and many of the various denominational gatherings ignored the development, or were even skeptical about it. Among the national organizations which later took favorable notice are the following: In 1852, the Methodist General Conference; in 1853, the Free Baptist General Conference; in 1854, the New School Presbyterian General Assembly, and in 1855, the Old School Assembly, which last, however, simply spoke of the success resulting "through the agency of these enactments" without definitely committing itself to support the principle. Numerous local bodies, also, especially in the States where the general sentiment was strong, commended "the Maine Law," and urged adoption upon, or approved adoption by, their own Legislatures.

Materials were not available for an exhaustive investigation on this point, but it would be interesting to know how widespread this conversion of religious forces to legal action actually was in the '50s. Open voting in the presence of influential ecclesiastical officials might easily produce a different result from that secured at the polls under the guidance of powerful politicians, even if the two electorates were identical. The problem is suggested in the declaration of a later enthusiast that "we should vote as we pray." But whatever the attitude of church members in general, the reformers were not able to hold all the ground gained in that campaign. Judicial decisions and legislative repeals soon eliminated all these prohibitory laws except those in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, while popular opposition made the possibility of enforcement a matter of debate at least.

Reaction against temperance reform in-

creased during the war between the States. The liquor traffic gained a new respectability through the fact that the Government secured a large revenue by taxing it, and as in the Revolution, through the approval of alcoholic beverages as a part of the normal diet of the men in military service. Continued silence by certain of the ecclesiastical organizations on the subject of legal suppression may be interpreted as opposition to entering that field of debate or to the legislative policy itself. Certainly anything like united action of the religious forces on this subject was still a generation ahead, and though some of the national sectarian gatherings, notably the Methodist, kept up their resolving, at the same time they incidentally acknowledged their own ineffectiveness in such phrases as "the advancing ravages of intemperance" and "the growing tendency to social drinking."

#### METHODISTS' ACTION

Methodists, however, moved steadily forward to stronger endorsement of legislative extermination. In 1868 the general conference voted: "We hail every legal measure to effectually restrain and extirpate this chief crime against society, and trust the law of prohibition may yet be the enactment of every State, and of the national Congress, and be successfully executed throughout our republic." Efforts to eliminate mention of Federal action failed. At the same time they approved appointment of a preacher by each annual conference to give his full time to this reform. In 1876 the central body pledged the denomination to "continue the struggle until total legal prohibition shall become the undisputed and settled policy of the whole earth." Nevertheless, that this was not the actual sentiment of the membership as a whole is suggested in overtures which came from the Maine and the Troy, N. Y., judicatories declaring that "there is an apparent want of interest and manifest indifference in the churches on the subject."

During the '80s the Prohibition Party, formed in 1869, showed such strength that for a time the Republicans seemed likely to adopt prohibition as a campaign plank. Yet by 1887 and 1888 the sentiment had



apparently so greatly declined that the politicians believed such a step would lose rather than gain votes.

Ecclesiastical gatherings also were stirred during this period by the prohibition issue and in numerous cases supporting resolutions were passed. Among the national organizations were those representing the United Presbyterians (1877), the Cumberland Presbyterians (1878), the Methodist Protestants (1880), the Christians (1882), the Southern Baptists (1889), the Northern Baptists (1890), and the Southern Methodists (1890). Likewise, many State bodies, especially of the Baptists and the Disciples, added their endorsements. The Northern Methodists went a step further in 1880 and incorporated a new chapter in the *Discipline* as a sort of new doctrine of the denomination. This declared: "We, therefore, regard voluntary total abstinence from all intoxicants as the true ground of personal temperance and complete legal prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic drinks as the duty of civil government." The rapidity of their progress to this radical position will be seen by contrasting the action of 1864, when the conference not only failed to repeat their earlier endorsement of extreme legislation but voted, "We have only to indicate our duty as a *Church*, leaving the employment of outside social or political agencies to be determined by individual conscience."

Political resolving was carried even further in the Free Methodist General Conference, which frankly endorsed the Prohibition party, declaring that the old organizations were "under the iron heel of the rum power." But for the most part the religious bodies disavowed party connections and simply urged their members to support candidates pledged to the approved principles. Said the Congregational Temperance Committee: "Political managers of all parties will respect Christian conscience when they \* \* \* learn that it controls the ballot which Christians cast." If this was the case it seems fair to ask, in view of the apparent coincidence of political and ecclesiastical interest in the measure, why prohibition failed in the '80s. Either the united sentiment of church people was not weighty enough to balance the scale in the

party counsels (it being presumed that the politicians are concerned for the number, not the source of the votes); or else in spite of formal resolutions in their gatherings these citizens did not follow the exhortation, "We should vote as we pray."

Both conclusions appear to be true. In fact, the evidence makes one wonder whether the church members really prayed as they voted in their ecclesiastical gatherings. Even the Methodists, who had issued such radical declarations, were moved in 1876 to "earnestly protest against the members of our Church giving countenance to the liquor traffic" in various ways. One speaker before the Congregational National Council, in advocating an effective campaign referred to the efforts of the denominations as "a mere paper wad bombardment," while a later (1907) committee of that body deplored "the contentment of our churches with glowing resolutions and a committee \* \* \* with neither funds nor authority to engage in efficient work." The reunited Presbyterians, when establishing a Permanent Committee on Temperance in 1881, felt called upon to defend the action as not "a diversion from the peculiar work of the Church." Three years later this committee, after summarizing the advance made in legislation and in sectarian pronouncements, declared that the next need was "Christian conscience" to enforce the laws already passed. In view of this situation the proposition made in 1884 by a Methodist in the General Conference that "the time has fully come when churches ought to be considered by the political parties as being of as much importance as breweries and saloons" seems entirely too hopeful.

#### ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE'S ORIGIN

From this time forward, however, the religious bodies began to cooperate with increasing effectiveness for various practical ends. In 1895 the organization of the Anti-Saloon League on a national basis provided a program and machinery for action against the liquor traffic which seemed to the churches to avoid complicity in party politics. Thus the attack constantly intensified along a widening front.

Nevertheless, in estimating the strength



of the ecclesiastical forces in this movement, we must bear in mind that the final step to the accomplishment of prohibition had the support of non-religious leaders whose aid was indispensable and whose attitude on the subject was determined by purely practical considerations. Corporations, it is said, have no souls, and they regard not the souls of mankind. When railroad and factory directorates laid down rules against their employes indulging in intoxicants they were moved not by Puritanical sentiments on redeeming sinners but by materialistic concern for preserving property. When insurance companies adopted a policy which prejudiced risks on even moderate drinkers it was with no interest in saving the lost from damnation, but rather in preventing the untimely loss of the insured. When, faced with the problems involved in participation in the World War, the Government banned the liquor traffic it was with no purpose to advance the Kingdom of God, but simply to secure the greatest possible efficiency of the citizenry in their several responsibilities. Yet prohibition did not succeed and probably could not have, without this influence.

Moreover, with regard to the Puritan elements in this development, it is significant that the major charge in the indictment against alcoholic beverages rests not on a theological conception of corrupting personal holiness but on the humanitarian conviction of endangering social well-being. This very fact caused the opposition of such ecclesiastical leaders as Bishop Hopkins, who condemned intemperance because the Bible did, yet fought the temperance movement as anti-religious. The point involved here is illustrated in the name of the league which finally united the various sects in this enterprise. The accusation is aimed at an institution, and the bill of particulars stresses that institution's alleged evil influence on the home, the church, the Government and the very life of the nation itself. This aspect has been emphasized in denomination pronouncements from the beginning of the reform effort. That there was considerable talk about sin is true, but in the last twen-

ty-five or more years even the nature of sin has been conceived as essentially social. For further illustration it should be noted that, although the religious forces have been steadily intensifying their condemnation of what to them is a social sin, they have as surely been relaxing their attack upon what was once the great ecclesiastical sin, the open Sabbath. The old blue laws for Sunday are nearly extinct. Theological Puritanism is fast dying; a new humanitarian Puritanism has shown itself powerfully alive.

Whatever, therefore, one's conclusion as to the justice or success of the experiment, prohibition cannot rightly be ascribed to Puritanism. It has developed during the period of the decline of Puritanism and only with the aid of distinctly non-religious forces. The erroneous contrary impression is due in part at least to the claims of the churches. In these latter times, with their new conviction, they have boasted of their past position with respect to this movement in such phrases as "from the very beginning," "continuous expression" and "unvarying testimony." A classic example of this idealizing tendency is worth quoting in full. The Presbyterians, in 1918, resolved "that this assembly hereby reaffirms its historic, open and irrevocable opposition to the beverage liquor traffic in every form and in every place, as unscriptural, unethical, unsocial, uneconomical, unpatriotic." In contrast, note the confession by this same body in 1880 that "this great and needed reform is no longer left to outside philanthropy, but the Church is taking hold of it." Is the belief of a generation an "historic" tradition? As we have seen, the whole ecclesiastical record shows a very different condition from that intimated in the above claims. Moreover, the personal attitude of the members of those sects which inherit the Puritan tradition has been at best doubtful and their influence certainly was not sufficient for the attainment of legal suppression. On the other hand, that some religious interests still oppose this policy only shows that the conversion of the churches is not yet complete.



# Kansas the Essence of Typical America

By W. G. CLUGSTON

Journalist and author of numerous magazine articles

IF Oswald Spengler had been born and raised in Olmitz, Kan., and if he had been educated at the Kansas State Agricultural College at Manhattan, and if he were today occupying the chair of history at Kansas University—if all these things could be, what future would he see for the Sunflower State? What would he have to say about the morphology of Kansas culture—the development, or decline, of the social structures which came into being and took form during the agitations of John Brown, which crystallized into Populism and Prohibition under “Sockless” Jerry Simpson, Mary Ellen Lease and Carrie Nation, and which, apparently, have begun to melt into new moulds with the decline of the political prestige of such outstanding Progressives as Henry J. Allen, William Allen White, Victor Murdock and J. L. Bristow?

If our whole civilization is going to the dogs, as Spengler attempts to show in *The Decline of the West*, Kansas must be going there too. But to those of us who are one-age individuals, and who call Kansas “home,” the general course of the marching armies of civilization is not so important as the position in the procession occupied by our particular coterie of troopers. Are we of Kansas leading the vanguard of our division? Are we in the rear struggling to keep up? Or are we making a feeble or a forceful effort to start a flank movement which may, in time, draw us away from disaster?

To say that a correct analysis of the cultural course of Kansas furnishes the formula for determining the course of civilization in the United States may be to take on the tincture of provincial egotism; but still, there may be more truth in such a statement than the ignorant provincial realizes. Assuming that the destiny of our Republic is to be shaped by her *great com-*

*mon people*, there is reason to give attention to the morphology of Kansas because no State in the Union has been more generally domiciled and dominated by the average, ordinary individuals generally referred to as the common people. In matters of politics, economics, education and industry the ideas and ideals of the *common people* have prevailed in Kansas as in no other State. As far back as 1883 “Main Street” was such a manifest thing in Kansas that Ed Howe was able to write *The Story of a Country Town*, and to put into it every commonplace that Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson and their imitators have been able to put into their modern pictures of American life. I do not mean that in Kansas the percentage of commoners today is measurably greater than the percentage in Connecticut or Colorado, but their aims and inclinations are more nearly attained and their mental and spiritual attitudes are more nearly in the ascendant.

The Commonwealth of the Kaw has occupied so much general attention, and has been so prominently identified with Progressive and Puritanical crusades and uprisings that prides and prejudices have well-nigh made enigmas of the inspirational activities of her leaders. How much is Puritanism responsible for the unique place the State occupies in current history? How much has the climate had to do with forming the character and the cravings of the people? To what extent have the constantly blowing winds of the Western plains been responsible for the political uprisings—winds that produce a constant irritant, making men restless and more ready to take a chance than they would be in a quiet, peaceful atmosphere? How much has the lack of social caste lowered the level of leadership?

All these questions must be taken into



consideration in determining the factors that have made Kansas what she is today, and incline the State to what it will be tomorrow. But I am convinced the major factor in the development of the peculiarity of this political entity has been the character of the people who first settled the territory—the inclinations and the aspirations of the pioneers who put the State on the map and produced a social order while they were plowing under the buffalo chips and shooting prowling Indians.

### THE FIRST SETTLERS

The settlement of Kansas and the settlement of the Civil War controversy were concurrent. By far most of those who came into this State in the early days of the slavery struggle were "poor whites" from the South. There were, it is true, members of the Massachusetts colony and other New Englanders, as well as settlers from Illinois, Iowa and other Northern States; but the majority came from the Southland. In the States from which they had come these men and their families had been forced into the lowest stratum of society. Having no slaves and little or no land, they were looked upon as nobodies; they were commonly called "po' white trash" and were despised, even by the negro slaves. They were held down by a caste system built upon an aristocracy which was maintained by black vassalage. Naturally, they blamed slavery for the hard life forced upon them in their home States. When they came to Kansas and saw a chance to make a State where the evils of slavery would never exist they set about the task in the most fanatical manner, and were willing to go to any lengths to protect themselves and their posterity from the degrading existence they had fled. In the slavery struggle these Southern settlers were, by all odds, the most rabid of the Kansas Abolitionists, and, while they were not so prominent as leaders, they furnished the predominance of numbers to make their cause prevail.

Uniting forces with the New England Puritans, the "po' white trash" from the South fought the pro-slavers on all sides, and the two forces, having many ideas and ideals in common, proceeded to shape

the State to their liking. Always they insisted upon equalities. They were everlastingly struggling to prevent the growth of a caste system—to make the *great common people* supreme. Whenever a group appeared to be getting too powerful a "boss buster" movement would be launched, with a political upheaval following. Some one's head was always being chopped off, politically speaking, and the only certain way for a politician to get to the front was through a loud-mouthed championing of the cause of the *great common people*.

There is no greater proof of the continuing influence of this attitude than the Kansas idolatry of the late William Jennings Bryan. There has never been a national people's idol who has had such a hold on the people of Kansas as Bryan had. He carried the State in 1896, and, up to the time of his death, every time he came into a community his presence caused a near-riot of enthusiasm. He was loved as no public figure since Lincoln.

Political manifestations do not necessarily indicate the trend of the social order, but when a whole people becomes absorbed in politics to the exclusion of other interests this may be taken to indicate one of two things—a lack of capacity for more edifying activities or an irritating dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs coupled with a belief that a political change will bring improvements.

Since the inception of the State, Kansas has expressed herself most noticeably through political articulations. In the arts and sciences she has seldom been either a leader or a laggard; but there have been few political uprisings in which her people have not played a conspicuous part. I shall not attempt to say which of the two causes cited above has been responsible, but it is a fact that before the Corn Belt crusade of 1926 there has been no widespread revolt in which Kansas has not essayed a leading rôle. The Farmers' Alliance and Populism, Bryan and the Free Silver furor, the Bull Moose bolt and the Wilson wave, all swept Kansas and established main strongholds in the Sunflower State.

Only within the last decade has the political consciousness of the people appeared



to be losing its prominence. True, the progressivism which put the Bull Moose movement on the national stage survived here long after the reaction had set in elsewhere, but the unmistakable end came to this manifestation with the close of the administration of Governor Henry J. Allen and with the collapse of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations which he had attempted to set up in this State and then sell to the nation on the theory that workers could be compelled to continue to work, even when they desired to quit, and that capital could be forced to operate industries, even at a loss, in order that the general public might have its luxurious essentials. The collapse of this industrial court panacea really marked the end of political cantankerousness in Kansas—the end for a time, at least. Conservatism and political apathy spread rapidly as the Allen leadership gave way.

#### LESS INTEREST IN POLITICS

Today Kansas is less politically minded than ever before in her history. Campaigns are conducted without the old-time fireworks displays; the terms "radical" and "conservatist" mean little, either as applied to candidates or causes; even the Grange, the Farmers' Union and labor organizations do not arouse marked hysteria. To say that Kansans are less interested in politics because they are occupied with higher things is a tempting impulse. Also, there is evidence with which to back up such a statement—evidence of an increased interest in the arts, music, poetry, painting; evidence of a more tolerant attitude toward opposed ideas, and a more intelligent inquiry into the enigma of life. More important still, there is abundant evidence of a more open-minded inquiry as to the infallibility of present moral standards. There is some evidence of an increase in the number of individuals who are coming to the view that richness lies within one's self rather than in one's property holdings; evangelism which exalts the ego is being preached in some quarters. A surprising number of hard-handed farmers know exactly what you mean when you say that all virtues may be practiced through super-selfishness. But with all these evidences piled on top of the declin-

ing interest in political buncombe I am still hesitant to say that Kansas is leading in the direction of a more elevated civilization.

Puritanism in its old form, unquestionably, is perishing along with political claptrappery. Pioneer Kansans were Puritans all the way from the sod house to the Senate Chamber, in spirit as much as, or more than, in lineage. Their anti-slavery animosities, their ideals, their ideas of equality and their economic struggles forced them to Puritanical standards. Out of their Puritanism grew the prohibition craze which was carried to the point of crusading under Carrie Nation, and which was capitalized for the first time by the politicians under the leadership of Governor John P. St. John. Out of prohibition grew the mania for passing laws to regulate the personal conduct of the individual—the policy of trying to legislate morality into morons.

No State has gone quite as far in modern times in the enactment of laws to regulate private affairs—laws drawn up for the purpose of improving the individual according to the majority's idea of improvement. Kansas was the first State, so far as I can discover, to enact a law regulating the length of a bed sheet. On the statute books today, in addition to the bone-dry prohibitory laws, there is a law which forbids the selling or giving away of cigarettes; stringent anti-gambling enactments which even prohibit punch boards; a law forbidding an individual who has the inclination to eat snakes, and scores of similar enactments restrictive of personal liberty in matters which should be of no concern to the State. There is a white slavery law which makes it a penitentiary offense for a man to transport a woman across her own front yard for what a jury might decide was an immoral purpose.

A majority of these legal levees have been thrown up as a result of the mental intoxication the prohibition régime brought to the Puritans. Prohibition today is being enforced as effectively as any of these polypus phantasies of popular government. (No one in office in Kansas who expects to run for office again will admit that the anti-drinking laws are not being effectively enforced; no one acquainted with the facts



can be honest and say Kansas is as dry as ten years ago.)

The extent to which the hypocrisy and fanaticism brought about by Puritanism and prohibition are undermining the moral fiber of the people cannot be told with accuracy at the present stage. The situation has become such that a man must be either a hypocrite or a fanatic if he hopes for any sort of political preferment. A man of the courage, honesty and ability of Senator James A. Reed of Missouri could not be elected township trustee in any part of Kansas. On every hand officials preach purity and practice law violations with immunity.

#### OFFICIAL LAW VIOLATORS

For instance, county attorneys and others responsible for enforcing the law buy, smoke and give away cigarettes every day; they commit this offense on the very days they go out to prosecute drug store proprietors and pool-hall operators for violating the anti-cigarette laws. It is the same with liquor law enforcement. A large percentage of the population considers it a mark of distinction to be known as liquor law violators and drink regularly; yet, if called upon to vote on prohibition, they undoubtedly would vote dry. How much such vices are responsible for fouling the very nests their perpetrators pretend to feather with angel-wing down is hard to say. How much the hypocrisy of the public officials and the public itself is responsible for setbacks to Puritanism and the back-sliding from political progressivism is a moot question. But, within the last year, the people have been given some delusion-dispelling, eye-opening incidents to think about.

The State Supreme Court has actually held that a man's automobile might be seized, confiscated and sold on the charge that he had used it in the transportation of liquor despite the fact that the owner of the car had been acquitted in a jury trial on the charge of having liquor in his possession in the automobile at the time the car was seized. Within the last year exposure of the Kansas Anti-Saloon League management proved that the Attorney General of the State, while drawing the salary of his office also drew a salary

from the Anti-Saloon League, and that while he was drawing these two salaries the Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League also drew money from the State Treasury for alleged law-enforcement work. Also, it was proved that a Justice of the State Supreme Court, while receiving his salary from the State, drew money from the Anti-Saloon League Treasury, and thousands of dollars was spent by the Anti-Saloon League on the political campaigns of these officials, while thousands of dollars collected for alleged law-enforcement work was never used for the purpose intended by those who contributed it.

Is it any wonder Puritanism appears to be declining? When we find public officials and professional uplifters so obtuse to a sense of duty and decency, and so strongly entrenched behind bulwarks of hypocrisy and fanaticism, are we not justified in wondering if the political apathy is induced by an absorption in more inspirational endeavors?

Kansas, nevertheless, has made progress and is making progress along certain lines of cultural development. Her people have become comparatively wealthy: wealth brings leisure and leisure always leads to culture where there are individuals who have tastes, talents, ideals or any form of intelligence. The question is, therefore, Has cultural development kept pace with the opportunities afforded by the fertility of the soil and the development of natural resources; is the Kansas oyster preserving its comfort by producing a beautiful pearl?

Today Kansas produces more hard Winter wheat than any other one State in the world, and nearly one-fifth of all the wheat raised in the United States. This Commonwealth ranks fifth among the States in corn production, third in the production of alfalfa, millet and other cultivated hay crops. From thirty principal farm crops the annual income runs close to \$500,000,000. The annual mineral production is estimated by the State Board of Agriculture to be \$160,000,000. This same authority in reporting the development of the poultry, egg and dairy industry in May, 1926, said: "In 1925 the farmers of this State sold 17,007,988 dozen eggs more



than they sold in 1920. Even at 25 cents a dozen, the average price for all seasons and for the State as a whole, the total of egg production would represent a value of \$23,281,151 for the year, or \$63,784 a day for 365 days. \* \* \* Kansas milk cows in 1925 produced 251,986,977 gallons of milk, which was an increase of 30,514,560 gallons more than was reported in the general census year. This is enough milk to fill 50,000 one-hundred barrel cisterns and does not include the amount produced by town cows."

### THE WEALTH OF THE STATE

Live stock products alone bring into the State more than \$100,000,000 a year, and the oil production income runs to a higher figure. Salt, coal, lead, zinc, clay products and natural gas, lime, asphalt and gypsum bring in many millions more. And the total population of the State, according to the 1925 figures, is only 1,833,882. Assessed valuations, which are always below the real values, show the per capita wealth is in excess of \$2,000. The State's farm lands are valued at \$1,729,000,000, personal property is valued at \$696,000,000 and public service corporation property at \$642,000,000.

These figures make a rather imposing showing for a State that started from scratch less than seventy-five years ago, with a population made up largely of individuals who had been unable to hold their heads above water in the surging streams of civilization in the more thickly populated areas.

No one, surely, would argue that cultural development has kept pace with this accumulation of wealth; it could not have been expected. As in all new countries, the people have been too much occupied with other things. It is plainly to be seen that the Kansans have been largely engaged in money-making activities. It was not a cultural urge, but an economic emergency that brought them to the plains to live in sod houses and fight Indians and grasshoppers while trying to establish homes, acquire wealth and set up a Government which would forever guard them and their posterity against becoming under-dogs in a caste-ruled State. They have accomplished these objectives in a most

remarkably satisfactory way; they have shown intelligence and efficiency in so doing. The question, therefore, we may ask, is not what the Kansas people have done, but what they are doing, and what they are going to do in the future. It is a most important question because its answer embodies a demonstration of the ability and inclinations of the *great common people*, once their economic problems are solved, to elevate themselves to a higher plane. In Kansas, more than in any other State with which I am familiar, conditions are almost ideal for the demonstration.

Compared with the standards of other States the Kansas schools of today rank high. The public schools are well-manned and the teachers are up to the average in training and intelligence. The higher educational institutions, including Kansas University, at Lawrence; the Kansas State Agricultural College, at Manhattan, and the State Teachers' Colleges at Pittsburg, Emporia and Hays, are as efficient in turning out standardized mental products as most State institutions. They offer good technical courses, expound majority opinions diplomatically; their students and faculty members make love no more than is common in Kentucky and California institutions.

Strange as it may seem, one of the most encouraging signs comes from the smaller denominational colleges and so-called universities. These institutions always have stood higher than their contemporaries in many other States, and in the last few years they have been moving up rapidly, the best of them squirming out from under the heels of the church and acquiring a freedom which allows them to go about their work in an intelligent fashion. A notable example is Washburn College, a Congregational institution at Topeka. Parley P. Womer, who has been President of this college for a number of years, seems to have the knack of picking real teachers for his faculty and convincing them that their talents and intelligence may be used in the classroom. Also, he has administrative ability, which means he keeps his Board of Trustees from meddling with matters beyond their grasp. As a result, his institution is in a healthy state;



it has the air of inquisitive freedom and an attitude of liberality.

#### LITERARY BACKWARDNESS

In the field of literature it seems there is a falling back rather than a going forward, although it may be that the present is only a lounging cat-nap period. With the exception of Edgar Watson Howe, William Allen White and Nelson Antrim Crawford there are no living literati who have won gold spurs and green laureate wreaths. The State has no man or woman of letters to be classed with Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, Willa Cather, H. L. Mencken, Ruth Suckow, Ben Hecht, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Carl Sandburg, Ring Lardner, or any of the new school artists who have undertaken the work of entertaining, enlightening and emotionalizing the age. In the matter of verse making Kansas most assuredly has not kept abreast of Oklahoma and Iowa in producing individuals who have followed in the footsteps of Shelley with a willingness to "learn in suffering" that which must be taught "in song."

The largest enterprise for literature in Kansas today is the work of Emanuel Haldeman-Julius of Girard, who is publishing the classics of all ages in ton lots and selling them over the country in the form of his "Little Blue Books" at five cents a copy. His sales, which run into millions, with more than one thousand titles, tell what he is doing in the way of educating the *great common people*. Also, in his monthly and quarterly magazines, through which he has set out on the stupendous work of "de-bunking" America, Haldeman-Julius may be accomplishing more important things than his contemporaries realize.

In the field of journalism the outlook is not as hopeful as it appears on the surface. Kansas has some well-edited small papers. Most of them are prosperous, but, as Henry J. Allen, publisher of the *Wichita Beacon*, recently pointed out, the newspapers of the State do not exert the influence they once did, nor do they enter as aggressively, or as fearlessly, into the making of their communities. Most of them have settled down to money-making. Also, most of the papers that have a

circulation large enough to exercise influence are being used by their publishers for personal political aggrandizement.

The extent to which journalism has been used as a stepping stone to "office-holding statesmanship" was forcibly brought out a few years ago when attention was called to the large number of newspaper men holding political places. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor were newspaper men, likewise the Mayor and Sheriff and Chief of Police in the capital city, a considerable sprinkling of the State Legislature and several members of the State's delegation in the national Congress. There is not a large daily paper in the State, except the *Topeka State Journal*, which has not been used by its publisher to obtain a political place of honor or other emoluments. Frank P. MacLennan is the only outstanding editor or publisher who has maintained a consistent political independence, and the most hopeful thing about the whole newspaper situation is the fact that his paper, the *Topeka State Journal*, under the managing editorship of Arthur J. Carruth Jr., has become one of the best paying newspaper properties of its size in mid-America—and it enjoys a political influence.

Today the outstanding men in Kansas are newspaper men. William Allen White of Emporia, Victor Murdock and Henry J. Allen of Wichita, Arthur Capper and Frank P. MacLennan of Topeka, Charles F. Scott of Iola, Clyde M. Reed of Parsons, W. Y. Morgan of Hutchinson and D. R. Anthony Jr. of Leavenworth—this is the list of the owners and publishers of the largest dailies in the State. Every one, except MacLennan, has used his paper as a tool in the carving of a personal political niche; every one has made his paper a tail to a personal political kite. As a result, the power of all newspapers has been weakened and their influence enervated.

Among these men, and among the weekly press editors, are the State's richest personalities and rarest individuals. Henry J. Allen is brilliant; William Allen White is a lovable sentimentalist; Victor Murdock is an independent thinker who truly loves the cause of his common people. What wonders these men might work in Kansas if they could untangle themselves from



their personal political complexes! In the weekly field there are Barney Sheridan of Paola, Paul Jones of Lyons, Ewing Herbert of Hiawatha and Colonel M. M. Beck of Holton—all men of ability, courage and intelligence. But, unfortunately, the political type-like also seem to flourish in almost all the small paper plants where these personalities preside.

One of the first Kansans to prostitute journalism for personal political gain was William A. Pepper, the father of Populism. He set the example for the practice which has been brought to perfection by Senator Arthur Capper. Pepper, soon after he came to the capital city, became the publisher of the *Kansas Farmer*. One of the first things he accomplished after acquiring this paper was to get a law enacted requiring all advertisements relating to stray animals to be published in his paper. The law required the County Clerk of each county to keep a copy of the *Kansas Farmer* on file in his office. In this way the father of Populism built up a statewide circulation. Then, having obtained his circulation and a certain revenue, he devoted his energies to the agitation which led to the Populist uprising. When "Sockless" Jerry Simpson and his lieutenants made the campaign in 1890, which carried the Populist ticket to victory, Pepper demanded the United States Senatorship as his reward, and used the power of his paper to get it. From that day to this newspaper publishing and political plum-picking have been more closely copulated in Kansas than in any of the surrounding States.

John G. Neihardt, who permits his admirers to call him the "Homer of the West," recently said that the United States is the only country in the world where lack of culture has developed into a cult. I can hardly hit the nail on the head with such a smashing blow; but, in Mid-America, this seems to be tending toward the real state of affairs. I cannot see that it is any more true in Kansas than it is in Nebraska, New Mexico, or Nevada; but I can see where the charge can be of more national significance if proved against Kansas.

In no part of America has the common man had a better opportunity to demonstrate his ability to rise, to raise himself

to a higher plane, economically and socially. In no commonwealth of these United States has the democratic idea been cherished more fondly, or exalted more highly—or made to mean more to the masses. Today in Topeka, the capital city of Kansas, the most exclusive social circles are well sprinkled with the sons and daughters of men who have been section hands on the railroads, sod busters on the prairies and sewer sinkers in the cities. In the list of the State's most recent Governors there are an ex-barber and a former mule skinner. The most recent ex-Governor, a real "dirt farmer," moved his family into the Executive Mansion from the farm on which he had lived and worked all his life. To the social snob these are not things in which a State may take pride. But in the course of the State's social progress who can say they are not significant signs?

To the critic who would be impatient with Kansas because her cultural development has not seemed to keep pace with the accumulation of wealth, I would ask, Can a social group be expected to change completely the course of its concentrated energies in a quarter of a century? The critic must remember that Kansas has come into her comparatively wealthy condition at the high tide of our national commercialism, at a time when all the world seems afflicted with a very virulent outbreak of the money mania. Nor must it be forgotten that it is a comparative condition of wealth which the Kansans have attained. The telephone, the radio, the bathtub with running water, electric lights, milking machines and automobiles, with all the costs which go with easy transportation facilities, are now as necessary in maintaining the cherished democratic ideas as a homestead was fifty years ago.

It is not for me to proclaim the relative importance of these things. I cannot prophesy as to the ability of the Kansans to solve their present economic problems and use their energies more intelligently in practicing the art of living. All I can say is that no people are striving more energetically, or with more confidence in themselves and their ideals; and I shall not be surprised if the histories of our era will say: "As Kansas went, so went Democracy."



# Magic Rebirth of Ancient Athens

By THEODORE VELLIANITIS

Former Greek Minister of Public Education.

ATHENS, the scene of still another political revolution when Pangalos was driven out by Condylis, but fortunately without the city suffering damage, is not only the proud custodian of the world's masterpiece in building art—the Parthenon—but it has other and more recent claims to recognition. It has grown more rapidly than any other capital of Europe during the last five years, expanding from a city of no great size into a metropolis of over a million inhabitants, with the remains of a glorious past surrounded by all the evidences of a vivid modern life. The Acropolis is the hub of a new wheel of progress, and Athens is the centre of a new Greece born out of a great catastrophe.

For more than thirty centuries Athens has been in and out of history, ascending to magnificent heights and falling into depths of oblivion. The story of the city can be divided into two periods—before the coming of Christianity and after. The first has been repeatedly described; the second has been obscured and even forgotten. The first was an era of development, progress and glory; the second has emerged only recently with a new and changed vitality.

During the first centuries after Christ Athens was one of the last refuges of free thinking and democracy. It owed its greatest prestige, says Renan, to its schools. The city of Miltiades and Pericles had been transformed into a university city, filled with professors, philosophers, orators, students, teachers of fencing and riding masters. The people were bright, clever, inquisitive. The journalism of the ancient world, if such an expression is proper, had its beginnings in Athens. Such was the spirit of Athens under the Roman Emperors, who enlarged the area of the city, building temples of their own and

leaving monuments of historic and practical interest, including Hadrian's Arch and, more important, Hadrian's Aqueduct, practically the only means of water supply for the city today.

Constantine the Great and his men, although they carried away many works of art to adorn the new capital, Constantinople, were partial to Athens and were proud to be known as Generals of the Athenians. Julian the Apostate, trying to revive the Greek religion and Greek civilization, looked with great favor on Athens. Even Alaric, the leader of the Goth invasion in 395 A. D., having burned down all other Greek towns and villages, spared Athens and insisted on entering the city alone in order to admire its masterpieces of architecture without the annoyance of his followers. The schools, the pride of Athens, renowned by such teachers as Livanus and Proclus, continued to teach and spread Greek culture until closed in 529 A. D. by Emperor Justinian. Stimulated by a misguided zeal for Christianity, he carried out the persecution of Greek philosophers with great vigor. The beacon of Athens was extinguished; the holy city of Pallas became a common, obscure and even a ruined town under the Byzantine Emperors. Barbarian invaders pillaged and plundered the violet-crowned and divine city, leaving it in ashes and ruins.

In the dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire by the Crusaders in 1204 the territory of Attica became the Duchy of Athens and the Marquis de Montferrat its ruler. The city remained in the hands of the Franks until taken by the Turks in 1455. The Venetians, under the famous Admiral Francisco Morozini, in 1687 landed about eight thousand soldiers and a thousand horsemen and besieged the Acropolis, to which the Turks had retired



and where they were making their last stand. Up to this time the Parthenon possessed its original grandeur and was practically intact. But unfortunately the goddess Athena was replaced by the god of war. The building was filled with Turkish gunpowder, not Greek worshippers, and when a Venetian bomb fell on it and exploded the powder the result was ruinous to the Parthenon. The Venetians' reward was slight, for in the following year the Turks recaptured the city and held it until the day of Greek independence, March 25, 1829.

#### TURKS' FAVOR TO ATHENS

Under Turkish rule Athens suffered less than other Greek cities. The French tourist, Andre Guillet de St. Georges, writes that the comparative prosperity of the city was due to the influence of an Athenian girl named Vassiliki, whose parents were Christians. Turkish officers abducted her from her family and sent her to Sultan Ahmed, who fell passionately in love with her. He granted her slightest requests and responded to her pleadings for Athens by changing the administration and assuring the city of continued favor. Paul Bavin, a Jesuit priest, describing the town and people in 1674, says that many of the houses were built from stones of ancient ruins: "If these people were free as they once were they would be much as pictured by St. Luke—'all the Athenians and sojourning strangers spent their time in talking and listening.' And nowadays they are inclined to talking and listening concerning the daily news, maintaining something of the hereditary inquisitiveness of their ancestors. They hold themselves in high esteem, notwithstanding the heavy Turkish yoke and their misery."

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Athens again slowly rose in intellectual importance. Greek learning was reviving in Europe and it had its inevitable stimulus in Athens. Schools were opened, and a library, called the Academy of the Lovers of Athens, was founded to facilitate the study of the antiquities. At the same time the famous Philomousos Society was established for the purpose of collecting and preserving the ancient works of art in special museums. It was expected

that this society would be able to prevent the removal to other countries of Greek works of art. Nevertheless, Lord Elgin, the British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, dismantled the Parthenon, robbing it of its most valuable sculpture, by permission of the Sultan, under the pretext of being the preserver of Greek art. Later another Englishman, Lord Byron, who deplored the act of his fellow-countryman, evoked the enthusiasm of the entire world for Athens and Greece by his poems.

The Greek revolution which broke out in 1821 again changed the fate of the city. In the struggle that continued for eight years Athens participated from the beginning. During the war the city was occupied by the Greeks and reoccupied by the Turks. The Greek population took refuge in the islands. When the war came to an end Athens was again in ruins. The inhabitants who returned walked about without shelter, for there was no city. When Greece was finally freed from the Turks in 1826 Nauplia was chosen as its first capital. Soon after the election of the Prince of Bavaria, Othon, as King of Greece, a movement began for the transfer of the capital to Athens. On Sept. 18, 1834, the decree establishing the new capital was published, and on Dec. 1 of the same year the Government began its new career in Athens without pomp.

Thus, out of nothing a new Athens began to rise on the same area once occupied by the ancient city. The plan of the new metropolis, drawn up by the architects Schubert and Kleanthis, was later modified by the famous German architect Klentse. Rectilinear streets, of which Hermes and Aioulou are the most important, cross each other at right angles in the old centre of the city. Hermes Street begins at Constitution Square, descends westward and ends at St. Asomaton Place. Aioulou Street begins on the northern slope of the Acropolis and reaches through its prolongation, Patissia Avenue, to the outskirts of Athens. For a long time these streets were the principal arteries of traffic. The town developed in the area thus formed. The population at the time of the foundation of the State was not over 15,000. When King Othon arrived in Athens there was such a scarcity of houses that he was com-





The Acropolis, seen from the public garden through which the Ilissos flows

pelled to dwell in a small building situated in the garden of the present Ministry of Finance. The city grew rapidly. New quarters were formed and a large number of new streets and squares were opened.

#### FIRST BALKAN UNIVERSITY

One of the early cares of the Hellenic State was the creation of a university, the first of its kind in the Near East. Classes were held in a house situated near the Acropolis. Later the institution expanded into the present beautiful edifice on University Street. The Greek University was for a long time the only school for higher learning in the Balkans. Not only Greeks, but Serbians, Bulgarians, Rumanians and even Russians went there to complete their education. The number of students last year exceeded 14,000, for which reason the Government decided to open a second university in Saloniki.

Adjacent to the university stands the Academy, a building designed by the architect Theophile Hansen, and one of the finest buildings of modern Athens. The Academy houses the Numismatic Museum,

one of the richest of its kind in the world. On the left of the University has been erected the National Library. There is no richer archeological collection than that housed in the National Museum on Patisia Street, for the works of sculpture and the collection of vases, pottery and ornaments represent every period of Greek history. On the same thoroughfare is the Polytechnic Institute, a school of arts and a school of industry with a museum of natural history and a national art gallery. This was the gift of public-spirited citizens. Few European countries can boast of so many rich men who give generously for public purposes.

The centre of Athens now lies somewhat between Omonia and Constitution Squares. A former residence of the King, more commonly known as the Old Palace, which was built in 1834, was partly destroyed by fire some years ago and is now occupied by many refugee relief organizations. It is included in plans which will convert it into a central Government office building. The Government departments are at present scattered in various rented



buildings in different parts of the city. A rather inconspicuous building on Stadium Street houses the Assembly. The Old Palace is surrounded on two sides by superb gardens tastefully landscaped and well kept. They are the most beautiful in the Near East. The President's residence faces these gardens on one side, and the Zappeion exposition hall stands in their midst on the side facing the sea. The view from the front of the Zappeion is exceeded only by the vista from the Acropolis and Lycabettos. To the right rise the impressive columns of the Temple of Zeus and the Acropolis. To the left nestled in verdure rests the new stadium reconstructed of marble on the site of the earlier Panathenaeon. It was dedicated by the revival of the Olympic games in 1896. In front lies the Saronic Bay with the Peloponnesian Mountains in the background. This paradise is the most popular promenade of the city. Foreigners and Greeks mingle here to enjoy the beauties of Athens, and here the stranger feels at once the throb and stir of life in the new Athens.

The little town of half a century ago with its two main streets, Hermes and Aiolou, has spread out into the fields of olden days and expanded in every direction until now it reaches from Phaleron on the sea to the slopes of Hymettus, from Piraeus to the furthest end of Patissia. The development has been marked by beautiful public buildings and attractive private homes, all of stone and many of marble. It is a modern city of exceptional elegance. The city planning committee has guided the growth and attempted to correct its faults by opening new and broader avenues, increasing the open spaces, asphaltting the main thoroughfares and restricting further building on historic sites, hoping that some day archaeologists will uncover more of the hidden treasures of the ancient city.

#### GREATLY INCREASED POPULATION

Great events have contributed to increase the population and bring about the consequent growth of the city. The Balkan wars emancipated from the Turkish yoke Macedonia, Western Thrace, Epirus, Crete and the Aegean Islands, with the exception of the Dodecanese, which remained under

the Italian flag. This new territory was added to old Greece. The population was nearly doubled. Large numbers flocked to the capital from the newly acquired provinces. The second event which increased the population amazingly was the catastrophe in Asia Minor. Greeks who traced back their ancestry almost to Homeric days were driven from the Pontus, Constantinople and Smyrna. They had nothing on their backs, but they had been masters of arts, trades and commerce in the country from which they had been driven. The unsocial Turk could not adjust himself to commerce and industry, those factors which help so much to smooth down religious and nationalistic enmities and render strangers friends instead of foes. For centuries the old Turkish Empire was unable to depend on anything except martial sovereignty. But even in these circumstances the Greeks retained superior energy and enlightenment.

The greater part of the Greek population in Asia Minor was agricultural and has now been established in Macedonia. For this purpose large estates were requisitioned, monastic property distributed, old villages doubled in population and the Moslem houses and property vacated under the Treaty of Lausanne were quickly occupied by the refugees. The urban population was of necessity distributed among the cities, over 320,000 settling in Athens and Piraeus, two cities which are practically one. The present population of Athens and its suburbs, according to the latest estimate, is over 756,000, and that of Piraeus is over 400,000, making a city of far over a million inhabitants—one of the largest cities of Europe.

Entirely new communities have been created, such as Byrionia, New Ionia, Kessariani and Kokkinia, under the direction of the Refugee Settlement Commission. In these four new centres over 21,000 houses have been erected. The money was raised by the one and only purely reconstructive loan floated by Greece, £10,000,000 being subscribed in London and New York. The loan is administered by a commission of four, the Chairman of which must be an American. Henry Morgenthau, the first to hold this position, has been succeeded by Charles Howland, a New York lawyer.

The larger portion of this loan has been used to establish the agricultural refugees, only comparatively small amounts having been spent on shelters for city dwellers.

Private capital has found a profitable investment in construction work of all kinds, especially the building of homes. Formerly a large majority of the Athenian rich and poor alike owned their own houses, and when the influx of refugees came, even those with more money found few houses to rent. This shortage created a building boom and general business prosperity. The large numbers of craftsmen and workers of all kinds, experts willing to work at first for just bread, induced banks and individual industrial promoters to erect factories and attempt to transfer immediately from Asia Minor the arts and trades formerly practiced there. The famous Kutahia ware was duplicated, Oriental carpets were made of Greek wool, production of every kind thrived under the stimulus of new blood and comparatively cheap but skilled labor. Thus the Greeks

who were expelled from Turkey became a new source of wealth and power to Greece. In the difficult days after the Smyrna disaster Greece suddenly found itself under the necessity of caring for a large number of refugees, not only Greeks, but Armenians and Circassians. Various nations lent assistance, and most of all America, which provided not only money and supplies, but relief workers who contributed their experience and good-will toward the solution of this complicated and unprecedented problem.

#### FINANCIAL CONDITION

During the crisis of the last three years the banks of Athens have successfully faced the financial situation. The Government has issued comparatively little new currency, the budget being provided for from current revenues. The obligations of the country have been promptly paid and the international debt control has a surplus each year over and above the sums needed to pay the annual interest and to provide



Wide World

A performance of *Orestes* recently given in the ruins of the theatre below the Acropolis



a sinking fund. One of the considerable factors which help to offset the unfavorable balance of trade is the large amount of money sent into the country by relatives outside of Greece. Recently, in a single year, it amounted to nearly \$50,000,000, of which a large portion came from America.

The great influx into Athens has created a demand for new pleasures. The national and municipal playhouses are now only two among a score of theatres. Restaurants and open-air eating and dancing places around Phaleron Bay have correspondingly multiplied. A race course has been built and a golf club organized. Automobiles have trebled and quadrupled in number, and the names of American cars are noticeable along every thoroughfare. Over three-quarters of all cars imported last year were of American manufacture.

As Athens never anticipated such an increase of population, unexpected and urgent needs suddenly arose. The scarcity of water, never abundant even in the past, has caused great uneasiness and much real hardship. Hadrian's old aqueduct is still the principal source of the city's water supply. To meet this vital need of water a contract has been recently concluded with a firm of American engineers for the construction of a dam near Marathon, the provision of an adequate water supply for Athens and the installation of a salt-water system for street sprinkling. Attention is also being devoted to the enlargement of the electric light plant, traction service and the telephone system, all of which have outgrown the needs of the new community. Piraeus Harbor is slowly undergoing radical changes. The far side of the port is being dredged; new warehouses are being constructed, and unloading machinery is being installed. Already Piraeus is the third largest port in the Mediterranean and bids fair to become second to Marseilles.

The World War broadened the relations of Greece with other countries. The Lausanne Treaty ended many misunderstandings and gave the country a homogeneous population. Now that the gradual solution of the refugee problem seems assured, the people are turning to economic and intellectual development, the centre of which is in Athens. America in this work has

also contributed its part. Athens College and other schools are offering American educational facilities to the youth of Athens.

It is natural that a city with a past such as that of Athens should cherish its monuments with great pride. They are the expression of the art, religion and life of ancient Greece. For the purpose of preserving the monuments and in the hope of discovering new wonders and treasures of art a Greek archaeological society was organized. This association excavated on the Acropolis and has undertaken many other restorations. Several countries maintain schools of research in Athens. The American Archaeological School, in cooperation with the local authorities, anticipates an extended program of digging which will uncover the entire area on the northwest side of the Acropolis between the Theseum and the Forum. The heart of the old city now buried under more modern dwellings will be laid bare and with it more of the secrets of ancient Athens. The American school has also completed a beautiful library, fittingly Greek in architecture, built to house the famous Gennadius collection of Greek books.

The Theseum is a temple in which Cimon is reported to have deposited the bones of Theseus, which he had transported from Scyros. This temple remains the best preserved of all the older Greek monuments. Not far from the Theseum the Ceramic Cemetery was discovered only fifty years ago. It was the burial ground of the old city and contains much that is interesting and beautiful. The north side of the Acropolis has a few monuments of unique interest scattered among the homes of the present city. Here is the old Forum, with its columns and colonnades, where in ancient days philosophers and artists kept their appointments and citizens met to discuss politics and life in general. The road that leads to the Acropolis passes to the left of the Theatre of Dionysus, reminiscent of the days when Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes were the popular dramatists, when crowds eager to see a new play acted or an old one revived, filled the stone seats.

Each knoll facing the Propylea is covered with history. The first city spread out



The Gennadeion, a recent addition to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. This is the new library built by the Carnegie Institute to house the valuable collection of manuscripts donated by Joannes Gennadius, the Greek statesman

over these slopes. Pericles and Demosthenes harangued the free citizens from the Pnyx. Paul preached to the worshipers of an unknown god from the Areopagus, commonly called Mars Hill; and not far away is the so-called prison of Socrates. The Acropolis is the objective of all lovers of Athens. The entrance, the Propylea, is still very impressive. Once the visitor is inside the Propylea, the Parthenon absorbs

eye and mind. In spite of its ruined condition, the monument produces an impression of divine beauty. The Erechtheum, slender and sensitive, stands opposite the Parthenon, and the Caryatides still gracefully form the porch of the maidens.

Again, after many centuries, Athens, now a great, overpopulated modern city, has become the very eye and heart of Greece.





# Russian Crusade Against Belief in God

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Russian Correspondent for *The Christian Science Monitor*, the United Press, and  
*The Manchester Guardian*

OPPOSITE the little chapel of the Iberian Virgin, one of the holiest shrines in Russia, the brief inscription, "Religion is opium for the people," blocked out in a brick wall, frowns down on the worshippers and the numerous beggars who besiege them as they go in and out of the shrine. Last Christmas, when Moscow's increasing army of radio enthusiasts picked up the receivers of their instruments, they were startled, offended or interested, as the case might be, at hearing an anti-religious lecture which was being broadcast from one of the big central radio stations of the city. On almost every news stand in Moscow and other large Russian cities one can see displayed for sale a brightly colored publication called *Bezbozhnik* (*the Godless*). A characteristic frontispiece for *Bezbozhnik* is a picture of Christ defending the capitalist system against the workers or a portrait of priests blessing soldiers as they fire on striking workers.

These are merely striking outward indications of a condition in present-day Russia, which is probably without a parallel in history. Atheism, not philosophical agnosticism, but 100 per cent. atheism, has been firmly established as a binding belief for the million and more members of the Communist Party, the ruling party in the vast territory of the Soviet Union, which includes within its frontiers one-sixth of the surface of the globe. The Soviet Constitution, to be sure, recognizes the liberty of every citizen to worship as he pleases. But every applicant for membership in the ruling Communist Party must follow the teachings of the two great Communist prophets, Karl Marx and Nikolai Lenin, and definitely renounce any form of religious faith, any idealistic, moral or philosophical conceptions that conflict with the strictly materialistic Marxian conception of history. Marx wrote: "Religion is

opium for the people." And Lenin, quoting this definition with approval, added: "Religion is a kind of spiritual brandy, in which the slaves of capital drown their human physiognomy and their demand for some sort of life that is worthy of man. Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression which lies everywhere on the masses of the people, who are crushed by their eternal labor for others, by need and loneliness."

Not only is the Communist obliged to renounce religion himself; it is one of his party obligations to carry on anti-religious propaganda among the masses who have not yet been converted to atheism. Quite recently the anti-religious agitators of the Communist Party held a congress in Moscow. This congress, judging from the reports which appeared in the press, was characterized by a good deal of theoretical discussion. The question whether religion was a purely reactionary force which had altogether outlived its time or whether it was a "bourgeois" force which could still derive strength from the restoration of free trade in Russia and the subsequent emergence of prosperous classes in village and city, was debated with considerable vehemence. The participants in the congress also debated with spirited vigor the point whether religion is absolutely inconsistent with science or whether in a "bourgeois" social order means can be found to harmonize religion with science. Among the resolutions adopted in the field of practical anti-religious work one recommended that agitators use tact and discretion in attacking religion, especially among the peasants, and suggested that it would be more effective to undermine the peasant's faith by scientific education than to attack it roughly by launching out into diatribes against God and the priests. Finally it urged all Communist local groups to maintain close cooperation with the *Soyuz Bezbozhnikov* (Union of the Godless).

This union is really the spearhead in the organized campaign against religion in Russia. The average active Communist, man or woman, is a very much overworked being, so that he has little spare time for the additional duty of anti-religious propaganda. This work, therefore, has been largely handed over to the Union of the Godless, a voluntary association of atheists, which has a membership of 114,000 and claims to be steadily growing. It is organized in thirty-six provincial branches. Communists and non-Communists alike are eligible for membership, provided they renounce all religious faith. Membership dues are low, only a cent a month for peasants and two and a half cents a month for workers. The union is much in evidence all over Moscow. In postoffices and other public buildings one can see big advertisements in which a genial spectacled old man is soliciting subscriptions for *Bezbozhnik*, the organ of the union. A number of news stands in the city are owned by the union, which leases them for profit. The union also operates several book stores, which are distinguished by the striking collections of anti-religious pictures and cartoons in the windows. The union was quick to make capital out of the conviction of the Tennessee school teacher, John T. Scopes, for teaching evolution. It volunteered to pay Scopes's fine and also started collections for a "John Scopes Fund," the proceeds of which were to finance the circulation of books on the Darwinian theory of evolution among the Russian peasants.

The President of the Union of the Godless is Emilian Jaroslavsky, who has his office in the headquarters of the Communist Party Control Committee, and is Secretary of the Control Committee, which is supposed to guard the morale of the Communist Party, to expose and punish abuses and to reprimand or expel unworthy members. An old revolutionist who proved his integrity and devotion to the cause by spending years of exile in Siberia under the Czarist régime, Jaroslavsky was picked out by Lenin himself as the man best qualified to hold the responsible post of Secretary of the Control Committee. He is passionately interested in the anti-religious campaign and is giving his whole life to

the task of winning the Russian people away from their old beliefs and converting them to the new faith of Marxism and Leninism.

#### ANTI-RELIGIOUS FORCES

"The forces arrayed on the side of the anti-religious movement in Russia," he declares, "are large and growing. The million and more members and candidates of the Communist Party, the League of Communist Youth, with its membership of almost two million and the Young Pioneers, the organization of the younger Russian children, which is under the direct training and influence of the Communist Youth: these organizations already account for several million people who have broken with religion. More than half of Russia's industrial workers have cast off religion; they no longer go to church or burn candles before the *ikons* [pictures of saints] which formerly hung in practically every worker's home. Generally men are more responsive to anti-religious propaganda than are women; and sometimes the worker's wife still prays before her *ikons*, while the husband has discarded his and replaced them with pictures of Lenin and other revolutionary leaders. We urge the godless workers to exercise tact and patience in such cases and not to break up their family life with quarrels on the question of religion. At the same time much remains to be done before religion in Russia can be regarded as an outlived force. Most of the country's population lives in peasant villages; and these have been much less affected by anti-religious agitation than is the case in the cities. Then the New Economic Policy, with its legalization of private trade and its concessions to the profit-seeking instincts of the peasants, has given religion a new lease on life. The classes that have profited by the New Economic Policy, the merchants in the cities and the *kulaks* [richer peasants] in the villages, feel it is fashionable to go to church and contribute to the upkeep of religious institutions. However, history is working for us. When we succeed in establishing full communism in Russia religion will go, along with other accompaniments of the bourgeois social order. So far we have made the greatest progress with the mem-



bers of the Orthodox Russian Church and the least with the Mohammedan population of the Soviet Union. The sectarians who dissent from the Orthodox Church offer more resistance to anti-religious propaganda than do the Orthodox; these sectarians were very much persecuted and oppressed by the Czarist régime and are now profiting by the freedom of religious utterance which they enjoy under the Soviet Constitution. Anti-religious activity is also carried on among the Jews; and there are cases in which, with the consent of the majority of the congregations, synagogues have been transformed into workers' clubs and otherwise put to social uses."

#### PROPAGANDA OF GODLESSNESS

The offices of the Union of the Godless are located on the Tverskaya, one of Moscow's liveliest business streets. Here everything is humming and bustling with activity. Typewriters are clicking; fresh bundles of *Bezbozhnik* are brought in and thrown down; the telephones ring with messages from factories, local branches of the League of Communist Youth and other organizations, urging the union to send down a qualified anti-religious worker to give a lecture on the fallacies of religion. The walls reveal a curious conglomeration of objects designed to stimulate the propaganda of godlessness. Atheistic pictures and cartoons, torn from former issues of *Bezbozhnik*, plaster some of the walls. A map of Russia, with big red spots to indicate the centres from which the Union of the Godless tries to spread the principles of atheism, occupied a prominent place in the room.

Another feature of the offices was a model "godless corner," which apparently represented an attempt to give the atheistic worker an appropriate substitute for the typical religious corner of a Russian house, where the *ikons* hang, sometimes with candles burning before them. The "godless corner" contained several pithy and vigorous denunciations of religion by Lenin and Marx. One also noticed several atheistic books and pamphlets. Among these may be mentioned *God and the Stock Exchange*, by Professor Reisner, an attempt to prove that religion has always been a servile tool in the hands of capitalism, and

a briefer pamphlet with the heading *Did Christ Live?* a marshaling of all the historical theories which contest the historicity of Jesus. Two years ago, when I was buying a railroad ticket in the provincial city of Rostov, this pamphlet was handed to me free of charge—with my change.

The principal organ of the union is the weekly newspaper, *Bezbozhnik*, with a circulation of 130,000. It is designed for peasant consumption and is sparing in too violent attacks on the idea of God. It prints cartoons satirizing the foibles of priests, points out how the Church contributed to the suppression and degradation of women under the old régime, tries to wean the peasant gradually from his faith by emphasizing the scientific explanations for thunder, lightning, hail, drought and other phenomena which the Russian priests have always described as miracles. The illustrated and colored magazine *Bezbozhnik*, which comes out every two weeks and has a circulation of 60,000, is more open in its attacks on Christ and other religious figures. A glance through this magazine reveals a variety of anti-religious material. The frontispiece shows priests of all religions trying to protect a hideous monster labeled "Capital" against the wrath of an armed worker, and there are pictures of a model "godless corner," of a church which has been turned into a workers' club and of some decayed bones which were found after opening a tomb which was supposed to contain the miraculously preserved body of a saint. There are stories and poems, always with an anti-religious tendency; one sees an article about an atheistic theatre and a note about a prominent Old Believer, a member of one of the Russian religious sects, who owned a factory and is alleged to have called on the troops to shoot down his striking workers during the 1905 disturbances. The union issues two other publications, *The Factory Bezbozhnik*, which circulates especially among factory hands and is similar in makeup and contents to the illustrated magazine, and *The Anti-religious Worker*, a rather dry magazine, designed for the instruction of anti-religious propagandists, with a circulation of only 5,000.

The local branches of the union carry on

propaganda by means of lectures, organizing "godless corners," circulating anti-religious literature, and so forth. Efforts have been made to press the stage and the moving-picture film into the service of the atheistic cause; but so far no very great progress can be noted in this direction. An atheistic theatre, "the only one in the world," as one of its promoters boasted, opened in Moscow in 1923 with a program of presenting dramas which would expose the shams of religion from the earliest pagan cults to the present time. But this experiment seems to have been abandoned, probably for lack of popular interest.

#### MOTION PICTURE PROPAGANDA

*Cross and Mauser* was the title of a moving picture recently shown in Moscow which was especially directed against the Roman Catholic Church. It was a lurid melodrama, full of murders, pogroms against Jews and whipping of women by degenerate priests. The numerous films of Caucasian life which have been produced in Moscow recently contain a certain number of attacks on Mohammedan priests; but it is doubtful whether these films are ever seen by the wild tribes whose life is depicted. When I was in remote Bokhara, traditional stronghold of Central Asiatic Mohammedan theology, in 1923, I witnessed an attempt to inoculate the primitive Bokharans who had been inducted into the Red Army with some ideas of free thought by means of the drama. A very crude and simple play was presented to an audience of soldiers. The villain of the piece was a Mohammedan priest, who was depicted as a sly, grasping rascal; and the hero was the teacher who was trying to introduce new ideas. The Bokharan soldiers laughed at the comedy in the play and did not seem to take offense at its veiled attack on their religion. This method of the simply written, almost improvised play is often used when a sympathetic or tolerant audience of workers or soldiers is available.

Two dominant ideas run through all the varied forms of anti-religious propaganda in Russia. In the first place the Russian atheists, who have hardly any other points of contact with American fundamentalists, agree with them in the assumption that re-

ligious faith is quite inconsistent with acceptance of the Darwinian theory of evolution. Hence all the "godless corners" display prominently a series of illustrations showing the prehistoric types of man and pointing out the similarity between these types and the highly developed ape on one hand and primitive man on the other. A widely used subscription advertisement for the peasant newspaper *Bezbozhnik* reads somewhat as follows: Is there a God? Then whence came the earth and the men and animals who dwell on it? Read *Bezbozhnik* and find out.

The second trump card of the Russian propagandists of atheism is their constant reiteration of the idea that religion and the churches have always been agents of the feudal and capitalist ruling classes in deceiving and oppressing the workers and peasants. This theme is constantly to the fore in their publications and lectures. It doubtless gets a readier hearing in Russia because the Orthodox Church before the Revolution was a submissive tool in the hands of the autocratic Czarist Government. Heavily endowed by the State, the Russian Church did as the State bade it, endorsed every action of the Government and threw all the weight of its influence against progressive and liberating movements. The Russian tendency to judge religion in general by the example of the pre-revolutionary Orthodox Church was amusingly illustrated by the experience of a liberal-minded English religious visitor to Russia, who obtained an interview with the official in the Commissariat for Justice who had charge of "religious cases," mostly cases in which priests were arrested and tried on charges of inciting to sedition or concealing the church treasures which the Government wished to requisition. The official announced himself an atheist and then with growing amazement heard the English visitor, representative of a religious group, expound political and theological views which were liberal, if not radical. Finally he broke in with the observation: "I do not know what your religion may be, but you are certainly not a Christian."

Yet it would be a serious mistake to assume from this incident that the Russian Communists are hostile to Christianity and



other religions merely because they were faced with a corrupt and reactionary religious organization in the shape of the Orthodox Church. Their hostility is to be attributed to a much more fundamental motive: the definite incompatibility of the Marxian materialistic interpretation of history and life with any religious, idealistic or supernatural view of the universe. Some time ago Nikolai Lenin's widow, Nadyezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, stated the Communist attitude toward liberal religious tendencies very clearly when she contradicted the statement of the Soviet Professor Pokrovsky that "religion which is free from superstitious belief in the interference of higher powers in this world, which nowhere limits science, which recognizes the world of realities, is not our enemy." To this Madame Krupskaya replied: "Such a religion as Professor Pokrovsky describes is no less dangerous than any other. The fact that this new religion puts on the mantle of science, that it acts in a hidden manner, bringing in the idea of God by contraband methods, only makes it more dangerous."

A great and visible change has taken place in the methods of Communist anti-religious propaganda during the last two or three years. The drive against belief in God and the Church has become less spectacular and more systematic and argumentative. In 1922 and 1923 the young Communists had a habit of holding anti-religious parades and public demonstrations on the great Russian church holidays, such as Christmas and Easter. During these parades the church services and chants were insultingly parodied; and effigies supposed to represent the gods of various faiths were burned. It soon became clear, however, that such public anti-religious manifestations were injurious rather than helpful to the cause of atheism. The believers were offended and only made firmer in their faith; and the possibility that an indiscreet anti-religious demonstration in a devout community might lead to a highly undesirable explosion of disorder soon led the Soviet and Communist authorities to put a definite ban on these spectacular public parodies of religious rites. This change of attitude was clearly revealed at the last celebration of May Day, the big

Communist holiday, which happened to coincide with the eve of the Russian Easter. The Central Committee, highest directing authority of the Communist Party, sent out a circular to all party branches strictly enjoining the members to refrain from making any public anti-religious demonstrations in connection with the May First celebration.

The Union of the Godless and the other agencies which are working to eliminate religion from Russian life are now placing their reliance, not upon spectacular attacks on religion, but rather on slow, patient educational and propaganda work. Every anti-religious agitator who goes out into the peasant villages is instructed to approach his subject very carefully and to begin by giving his peasant auditors a simple course in science and natural history. It is believed that the peasant's religious faith is so closely bound up with superstition that he can be transformed into a full-fledged atheist as soon as the schools and the lectures of the anti-religious agitators have cleared away his superstitions.

#### RESULTS OF CAMPAIGN

What are the actual results of the organized widespread campaign against religion which has been going on in Russia ever since the Bolshevik revolution more than eight years ago? How large a percentage of the Russian people have forsaken the *ikons* of the Orthodox Church for the red banners of communism? It is possible to give only general and approximate answers to these questions. A stranger arriving in Moscow on a Russian Easter would most probably reach the conclusion that the Russians are the most religious people in the world and that all the efforts of the Union of the Godless are foredoomed to failure. He would be almost deafened by the clanging of bells in hundreds of churches, and he would find it difficult to go in or out of a church during the services on Easter eve because of the dense throngs of worshippers, which fill every available inch of space and often remain standing until early the next morning, participating in the Easter chorals, bowing before the altar and following the priests in the parade with tapers around

the church. There are no class lines in the Russian Easter celebration; the churches are as crowded in working-class quarters as they are anywhere else. Yet impressive as Easter is, it can scarcely be considered a fair test of religious sentiment in Russia. For generations the Russians have been accustomed to observing Easter as a holiday, to eating their *koolitsch* (a kind of raisin cake) and *paska* (a rich cake with cheese as a basic ingredient) and to decorating their window sills with eggs painted in various gay colors. Many people who never go to church at any other time of the year attend the Easter services out of habit or curiosity.

On the whole it seems that although there is a tendency among the old propertied and educated classes to turn to religion and mysticism as a sort of psychological consolation for the hardships they have undergone, there is a strong movement among the younger generation, which is more directly under the influence of the Revolution. Among the workers and Soviet employes who absorb the Communist teachings on religion through lectures in clubs and other agencies, among the students in the universities and higher technical schools, half of whom are members of the Communist Party or the League of Communist Youth, the prevalent tendency is to be indifferent, if not actively hostile, to religion.

In the peasant villages also the authority and prestige of the Orthodox Church have been visibly undermined since the Revolution. The typical bearded old peasant still cherishes his conservative feelings; he is apt to resent it if a cocksure young Communist tells him too bluntly that there is no God. But the religious faith of the younger and middle-aged peasants, especially of those who participated in the World War and the Civil War, has been severely shaken. Many of them have given up wearing the cross which used to be found around the neck of every Russian peasant. The doubting peasant does not always become a rampant atheist. Sometimes his religious impulse takes another form; he leaves the Orthodox Church and joins one of the reformist sects which dis-

pense to a large extent with ritual and teach a simple faith based on the Bible. These sects, Baptists, Molokans and others, have grown noticeably since the Revolution, partly because of the new questioning attitude of many peasants toward religion, partly because they are no longer persecuted and hindered in carrying on their teaching, as was the case under the old régime. The Union of the Godless already recognizes in the sectarians a formidable enemy and has organized a special department to work out methods of anti-religious agitation which are calculated to be effective among them.

#### ANTI-RELIGIOUS RULERS

Most of the Communists believe that religion is a spent force in Russia. They are convinced that its roots are to be found mostly among the older generation and that the youth of the country, trained under an educational system from which every semblance of religious influence is carefully excluded, will turn out almost 100 per cent. atheist. Religious people in Russia are by no means disposed to accept the validity of this forecast. They maintain that if the number of worshipers has decreased, their sincerity and devotion have increased. They believe that the Russian Church will emerge from its period of trial purified and stronger than ever. They contend that religion, in some form or other, has always been a definite spiritual need in the life of the Russian, and that no political change, no matter how sweeping and profound, can permanently eradicate the strong mystical element in the Russian character. Only the future can decide which of these two views corresponds more closely with the realities of the situation. In the meantime the fact that the ruling party of a great country has, for the first time in history, definitely set its face against all forms of religious faith may fairly be counted an event of tremendous social and psychological significance. The experiment in rooting out religion which is being so vigorously carried on by the Union of the Godless and its allied bodies commands the attention and study of believers and unbelievers in every country.



# Explorers Have Nowhere To Go

By JAMES C. YOUNG

WITHIN twenty-five years man has arrived at the uttermost ends of his earth. Now that the North Pole has been reached by airplane and the Arctic traversed by dirigible the vast area to the west of the Pole is known to hold nothing but frozen seas. The last great expanse of the unknown globe has yielded its final mystery. Only the depths of the ocean are yet to be explored.

Asia is definitely plotted, Africa an open page, the Amazon Valley reduced to well-defined zones. On all the broad surface of the globe the interior of New Guinea—the great island to the north of Australia, and after Australia the world's largest island—alone remains a true terra incognita, and American forces have penetrated deep into its jungles during recent months. The world of today contains not a single hidden city, dark continent or impenetrable desert. Scarcely an island has eluded discoverers and only a few mountain peaks still resist the foot of man. Perhaps we never shall find another important river, although Roosevelt revealed the largest affluent to the first tributary of the Amazon.

Thus the romance of the ages draws to an end. The known world of four centuries ago has been expanded until all its parts are familiar. The long trek of the human herd has reached the limits of its range. The main trails are blazed, the degrees and elevations established. Those who follow in the steps of the intrepid pathfinders must be content to win the honors that come from lesser labors. Modern invention has made possible by steam power, motor car and airplane the completion of a conquest begun in remote ages by foot, trireme and sail. The twenty-five centuries of recorded discovery have culminated and reached fulfillment in twenty-five years.

The exploration of the globe is an annal approaching its climax since 1900 with a swiftness to amaze. Livingstone and

Stanley in the '70s and '80s had illumined "Darkest Africa." But the beginning of the century found South America a continent little known after three centuries of settlement. Inner Asia was yet a land of mystery. The Sahara and the Sudan were shaded and doubtful zones upon the map. Numerous islands of the Pacific had slight meanings beyond their names. Tibet was a closed and guarded land and Lhasa still the forbidden city. The realm of the air was uninvaded and underwater navigation just beginning. Marconi's vision of the wireless seemed fanciful.

In the dawn of the century the world yet concealed broad areas undisturbed since the beginning of man's struggle to master his globe. But in twenty-five brief years the remnants of the veil have been plucked away until scarcely a shred awaits the valiant hand. The century began auspiciously, even brilliantly. In December of 1901 Marconi flashed the letter S across the Atlantic and brought about the age of the winged word. From that time onward the triumphs of communication and the victories of exploration are closely related.

A notable distinction arises between explorers of the new century and those who had gone before. Once it was the lure of adventure and the gains of trade that moved men to penetrate the far places of the earth. In the new century the latest and greatest factor took leadership. Scientists began to leave their laboratories and classrooms to undertake the tasks once allotted to a race of mariners and iron men. Retorts and school books were laid aside for the compass and the conquest of the open.

It is true, of course, that trade and adventure continue as powerful forces in the drama of discovery. Sometimes the ends of each are joined with the later impulse. Where adventure first led, science has followed boldly in exploring the Amazon Valley, but it is trade that aspires to lay



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that great expanse under tribute. Rubber is the new gold that beckons to the jungle. Two years ago an expedition sent out by the United States Government conducted a survey for rubber trees and plantation sites, returning with maps and reports that have added largely to knowledge of the Amazon basin. Other seekers of rubber trees and oil are exploring its furthest reaches toward Venezuela, Colombia and Peru. Before long the Amazon will be as well known as the Nile.

#### THE UNEXPLORED AREAS

If we should take a map of the world and spread it before us there would be but a half dozen large areas unexplored. Even they scarcely could be termed unknown. The largest in the Old Hemisphere lies upon the northern side of Tibet, a great desert zone ringing about the inaccessible land. Beginning at the Ala Shan Mountains and extending to the northern border of Tibet along an irregular course it effectually protects the mountain empire from troublesome neighbors. Doubtless the Tibetans and Mongols know its trails, but it is not yet an explored area in anything like the scientific sense. The Gobi Desert, another Asiatic expanse, is only slightly known, though long ago explored. An American expedition has uncovered dinosaur eggs in its rocky crevices.

Until Roald Amundsen crossed the Arctic by airship a zone of about 1,000,000 square miles lying to the west was reported to include land. Admiral Peary, peering northward from Cape Colgate in 1906, believed that he saw mountains. "It was with a thrill that my glasses revealed the faint white mountains of a distant land which my Eskimos claimed to have seen as we came along from the last camp," he wrote. Eight years later MacMillan saw "hills, valleys, snow-capped peaks extending through at least 120 degrees of the horizon." An effort to reach those hills convinced him they were no more than a mirage. Amundsen in his flight saw but a few dark spots that might have been rocks or islands. Certainly the day is far distant when we shall have accurate charts of the area, though we may well conclude that it is a frozen waste.

The Sahara, long the realm of the un-

known, once stirred the imagination of the race with its mirage cities, its mythical mountain ranges, its great oases and spreading lakes existing only in fever-stricken eyes. But the new century has left little of illusion to the Sahara. French motor lorries in the last few years have found paths where scarcely a camel had trodden before. It is now possible to skirt the northern edges by regular motor routes and drive deep into the desert, as we might cross any of our own lesser wastes in the West.

What the French have achieved in the Sahara, the British have equaled in the Sudan, and the French have explored there upon a broad scale as well. The inner Congo no longer is a wilderness barrier. The Cape to Cairo Railroad has become something more than a name and another decade is likely to see steam trains operating from one end of the continent to the other.

Long before that day the west coast will be linked with the remote interior by rail, its products moving to world ports in much the way of other lands. Where Livingstone broke the trail, a railroad is following. Next year it is expected to have in operation a continuous rail line from Benguela, port of the Portuguese Congo, running eastward to the Belgian Congo and thence to Chilongo. At present the British are building their end of the line from Lake Tanganyika, and when the two links meet another empire will be opened to modern commerce. Roughly, this will include the whole Tanganyika zone, Northern Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo and Portuguese West Africa.

The advent of the railroad will have a significance not easily understood without reference to the map. Steamships with merchandise for the region outlined often unload at Cape Town and shipments are made 1,700 miles by rail to Benguela. That statement alone conveys some conception of the empire building that goes steadily forward. What the railroad will mean to African enterprises over a great territory cannot be expressed in a few words.

Thus the geographical plotting and broad development of the African continent has reached a stage where it would

be puzzling to find any large unknown area. It even has been found necessary to set aside sanctuaries for the surviving gorillas, and something of the sort must be done for the elephants. At a moment when African game is perishing before the automatic rifle, as it already has suffered virtual extinction in America, science has abandoned the hopes once entertained of discovering prehistoric animals living in the African wilds. Evidently we never shall obtain a glimpse of an age-old dinosaur or pterodactyl—certainly not in Africa.

#### SEARCH FOR PRIMITIVE MAN

But the hope feebly endures that a living tie between man and a more primitive creature yet will be found. Certainly no area of the globe offers stronger probabilities of realization for that hope than the inner fastnesses of New Guinea. A race of pigmies lives there, a little more than four feet tall, of which science has but the vaguest ideas. Somewhere in the reeds and grass of the New Guinea jungle a creature conceivably exists that will bring evidence to bear upon the genesis of man. Other expeditions have sought to find this evidence in the wilderness of the upper Malaysian peninsula. Although scarcely unknown territory, the peninsula contains great areas seldom visited by white men. Legend holds that a human race with tails disports among the Malaysian trees and traders have reported sighting these strange creatures. But so far science has no proof.

After Marconi had astounded the world in 1901 and provided exploration an invaluable adjunct, the Wright brothers followed hard upon his steps with the first airplane flight in December, 1903. Two such achievements within two years forecast the final conquest of the world, although a dozen years were yet to elapse before these inventions came to play their full part. But it was then evident that man soon would be able to move upon wings over territories where he once had labored through morass and danger. And as he moved he might talk at will with distant centres; even send a dispatch for the morning newspaper ten thousand miles away.

Until the Summer of 1904 mankind looked with awe upon the one remaining forbidden city. Lhasa, the unattainable, still reared its mystic temples upon the heights of Tibet, shielding its mysteries from all eyes. A few white men had been to Lhasa and still fewer had returned. Perhaps not one had entered there in a hundred years, unless we admit the presence of a Russian or two. But Tibet and Great Britain, as represented by the Indian Empire, had not fared well together for a measurable period. In the Spring of 1904 Colonel Younghusband made ready to gain Lhasa at the head of a slender column. One day the column disappeared across the Indian frontier and plunged into the unknown. Before long it had real business in hand, confronted by strong Tibetan forces. The campaign went on and the column swept forward until it stood before the gates of the hidden city and turned its curious eyes upon the famed temples, the great walls and spreading city.

We have just seen, however, that the fastnesses of Tibet are not yet wholly conquered. Mount Everest preserves its snowy summit beyond the reach of explorers. And the Tibetans recount how the gods of the mountain have ever frowned upon those who would disturb their majesty. Several of the peaks are unconquered and the country itself is little known, though it has yielded to intruders. But the citadel of the Himalayas may prove at any time to be a storehouse of ancient culture. Its monasteries supposedly are repositories of many writings. The lost books of the Bible were reported found in such a place recently. Who shall say that priceless papyrus of the Greeks, or the screeds of the early Indian cults may not be recovered here?

The epic of the new century was the struggle toward the poles. Admiral Peary in 1906 almost attained the Northern goal and in 1909 his dogs carried him to the top of the world. Centuries of struggle exposed naught but ice and snow, scant reward for a deed equal to the greatest when measured by fortitude and suffering. As one deed inspires another, so the South Pole surrendered to Amundsen in 1911 after a memorable race against Scott of England.



## POST-WAR EXPLORATIONS

From 1914 to 1918 there was no important contribution to discovery. After the war men turned to exploration by way of relief. At this writing the hinterlands of the world are being scoured by rubber seekers, oil prospectors and scientists of every degree. Practically all these expeditions bring to light new facts concerning far places. Minerals, plants, wild life, forestry and a dozen other branches of science are enriched. Explorations have become so commonplace that the names of the men who dare and delve for trade and science mean but little. But one outstanding name must be added, that of Lieut. Commander Byrd, first to reach the North Pole by air, flying in a frail plane.

Exploration in the modern sense really began with Marco Polo. Before his advent in the thirteenth century Genoa and Venice had built up a rich trade with the East, carried on by caravan routes. But communication was limited to an exchange of goods. The boy Marco at 15 accompanied his father and uncle on a trading expedition that ultimately led him to Persia, India, Russia and the ancient Cathay, or latter day China. After twenty-six years of wanderings they returned to Venice in 1295 with magic tales and great wealth. Marco later fell into the hands of the Genoese as a captive of battle and while in prison dictated to a fellow-prisoner his marvelous book, which promptly invited derision that lasted well into modern times. But there was enough of fact in the book that could be authenticated by his countrymen's knowledge to stir intense interest in the East. Scholars of recent times are inclined to accept the annal as written entirely in good faith, though often beside the mark.

Leadership in revealing the unknown world fell to the Portuguese in greater measure than any other people. Incentive came from envy of the two Italian cities that ruled the Mediterranean. And the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 closed one of the two long-established caravan routes eastward. Italian commerce overland waned before the new power. Portugal looked longingly toward Africa and a way around to India. In this way Portuguese mariners began to creep down

the African coast. It was popularly believed that men could not live in the torrid zone. But each adventurer pushed a little further until Diego de Cama or de Cam reached the Congo, probably in 1482. Then Bartolomeo Diaz proceeded far south and was swept around the tip of the continent in a storm. When his three ships righted themselves they found land running northward and eastward instead of southward and westward. The great achievement was theirs in 1486.

Eleven years passed before Vasco da Gama sailed in the path of Diaz, rounding the Cape of Good Hope and reaching Calicut the following May. Da Gama went as an ambassador to Prester John, that mythical Christian prince described by Polo, supposed to rule over a great realm in India or further east. In Calicut the Portuguese believed they had found Christians and made efforts to attain the court of Prester John. Instead, they were the first ambassadors of Western civilization to reach the Orient by water.

From this period onward exploration advanced by feverish activity. The world was filled with marvelous tales. Men forgot their usual tasks to turn wondering eyes upon the expanse of water that divided them from fabulous places, the Nirvanas where all was wealth and ease. England took earnest account of events in which she had no part. Spain joined the search for new empires, ending in the great adventure of Columbus which led him to a West Indian island in 1492. Instantly England determined to have a part of this fabled world and John Cabot sailed under commands from Henry VII in 1497. He found the American coast and sailed along much of its length on this and a second voyage, but on his return to England wars distracted the land and the day of empire-building was deferred. If we may believe Amerigo Vespucci, which is doubtful, he reached the North American continent just eight days ahead of Cabot, on June 16, 1497. It is certain that he possessed the better imagination, as his name endures in America.

Men of all nations now gazed westward across the ocean. While Portugal developed her African and Indian trade, Spain reached covetous hands toward the New

World. Vicente Yanez Pinzon, who had sailed under Columbus, discovered the South American Continent in February, 1500, and Pedro Alvares Cabral, a Portuguese, followed him three months later. He had sailed for the Cape of Good Hope and India, but was swept far out of his way by storms and reached modern Brazil.

Immediately strife developed between Portugal and Spain as to the extent of their possessions. The quarrel reached such proportions that Pope Alexander VI issued his famous judgment dividing the possessions of each. A line drawn from the North Pole to the South, 100 leagues west of the Azores, was to separate the territories of Spain and Portugal for all time. But this judgment did not please a number of other nations, nor the antagonists themselves, and the rivalry flared anew when Vasco Nunez de Balboa discovered the Pacific by an overland trip in 1513. Here, at last, was evidence that India might be reached by sailing west as well as east.

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese badly treated by his own King, enlisted the aid of Spain and sailed in 1519 on perhaps the greatest voyage of history. Magellan accomplished what Columbus had sought to do. But it was not until Oct. 21, 1520, that he reached the eastern end of the strait that has since borne his name, after hardships and difficulties unusual even in his day. The little fleet sailed through the strait and presently emerged upon the broad Pacific, so named by its discoverer because of the balmy weather and smooth waters after a long contest with storms. This, indeed, was a new and strange world; an almost limitless expanse of water, stretching far away to unknown places. Magellan said that he would go on "if they had to eat the leather off the yards," and his declaration proved apt because they did just that in the cruise of ninety-eight days before land was sighted, a small island.

After refitting, the voyage was resumed, taking a northeasterly course and missing sight of Australia, then a fabled continent of which reference was first made by Marco Polo. In time the expedition reached the Philippines and turned eagerly toward the Spice Islands, facing westward once more. But the gallant Magellan died

in a struggle with natives, ending the life of a notable captain, the first man to circumnavigate the globe. His exploit ranks second to that of Columbus alone, if it does not fully equal his achievement.

In our day it is difficult to grasp the meaning of these events to England. Spain and Portugal were becoming powers of the first magnitude, succeeding Genoa and Venice as the maritime nations. France, rising to a dominant position upon the Continent, also watched the conquest of the world by her neighbors. It must be remembered that discoveries were jealously guarded. Only vague ideas existed among other nations of the distant Portuguese and Spanish empires. Maps of those regions were the precious possessions of their owners. Every explorer perforce must be his own navigator, and have great luck as well, if he landed safely.

#### FIRST EXPLORER IN NEW YORK

France, in 1524, dispatched Giovanni da Verrazano to the New World, and the Italian brought back an account that was to result in the settlement of New France many years later. According to one version, for which there is some authority, Verrazano entered New York Harbor, preceding later discoverers by many years. But France, like England, lagged behind the leaders. Once, however, those nations entered upon explorations they rapidly took a worthy place.

Under Elizabeth England sought zealously for the northwest passage. Martin Frobisher made three voyages, in 1576, 1577 and 1578, and each time brought home valuable intelligence concerning the northern latitudes. But he did not find the passage. In the same period Sir Francis Drake sailed on the route of Magellan, turned eastward and circumnavigated the globe upon his own account, adding to English prestige upon the seas. He also ravaged Spanish settlements and ships and returned home laden to the water line with Spanish gold. Another hardy Englishman, John Davis, made notable voyages in 1585, 1586 and 1687, seeking the northwest passage. He approached within 1,100 miles of the Pole, and sixteenth century



England acclaimed him, the man whom one historian says "converted the Arctic regions from a confused myth into a defined area." Such splendid failures merely served to sharpen desire for a passage northeast or northwest that England might control.

France, no less eagerly than England, looked for a passage to India and sent Jacques Cartier upon the mission in 1534. He reached Newfoundland, and two years later, on a second voyage, penetrated the St. Lawrence. The New Spain in the south was to be matched by the New France in the north. England still had no hold upon the New World.

While all of this activity was in progress with the Atlantic as its scene, Spanish development continued along both shores of South America and the eastern coast of southern North America. Reports of still another great continent in the far Pacific drew many navigators to its waters. But the reports were considered doubtful, since Magellan and Drake had already crossed that ocean. Modern evidence would indicate that Australia, the world's largest island and smallest continent, was discovered in 1605 by de Quiros, a Portuguese navigator in the service of Spain, sailing from Callao, Peru. French claims antedate de Quiros by a century. The subject is obscure, with probabilities tending to the Portuguese.

Among other explorers worthy of mention was Henry Hudson, the Englishman, who in 1607 planned to sail across the North Pole to Asia. How this was to be accomplished does not appear, but Hudson "came nearer to the Pole than any man before him, as near as possible without sledges," according to one historian. His next service, in behalf of the Dutch, was undertaken to find a northwest passage instead of the northeast, and he turned across the Atlantic, entering the river which bears his name in 1609. Later he discovered Hudson Bay and died there, set adrift by his crew because of persistence in extending a hazardous voyage.

### THE WORLD OF THE GREEKS

If we would appreciate the extent of explorations in the twentieth and middle centuries we must look backward to the world

as it was comprehended in the beginning of white man's civilization. When Herodotus wrote his famous history in the fifth century, B. C., knowledge of the globe among the Greeks was confined to a relatively limited area. They had not yet arrived at the conclusion that their earth was round, but thought of it as being flat, surrounded on all sides by water. Their triremes had explored to the Pillars of Hercules at the mouth of the Mediterranean, and their myths described the Blessed Isles that lay beyond, perhaps the British Isles or the Azores. The whole region along the Black Sea and far into Europa was termed Scythia. Something was known of the lands inhabited by the Teutons and more of those held by the Gauls. Egypt was familiar and minutely described by Herodotus. Beyond Egypt lay the great land of Libya, ending far to the south, where the waters washed its shores. To the east, beyond the Persians, was the land of Indi.

By the second century of our era Ptolemy, the geographer, had advanced so far that he was able to work out the first worth-while conception of the globe. He divided it into five zones and adopted from Hipparchus the division of the equatorial circle into 360 parts, leading to our present degrees. Then he laid down the meridians from the equator to the poles. By this means the parallels of latitude and the meridians of longitude were devised, Ptolemy using the same terms as we employ today. He decided that the farthest northern land was in 63 degrees north latitude, only a little way beyond the true position of the Shetland Islands. But his extensions of Africa and Asia greatly exceeded their true size. He had no conception of the Western Continents.

Down the succession of the centuries the long roll of explorers has increased until the world of today lies exposed in its essential parts. Never again may we expect discovery to compare with those that have transformed the conditions of life everywhere. He who would take part in the civilizing of the wilderness had best hasten, or there will be no wilderness left. It is a hostage delivered over to the forces of invention and hardihood. The age of mechanism has prevailed.

# Rumania in the Grip of an Oligarchy

By SILAS BENT

American author and publicist who has just returned from a visit to Rumania

**O**STENSIBLY a limited monarchy with Parliamentary Government, Rumania is ruled in fact by a compact oligarchy. Unlike several other European States, in which the tendency since the World War has been toward extra-legal dictatorship, the authority at Bucharest is based on economic as well as political foundations. Overwhelmingly successful parties are created almost overnight. Not long ago the Liberals held the reins, and held them tightly; to suit the convenience of the oligarchy the People's Party, which had occupied but five seats in Parliament, achieved at a single stroke a majority better than two-thirds. The Liberals themselves had come into power by an overturn no less remarkable.

The names attached to the parties in power are only labels; for they are not parties as political parties are understood in the United States, since no free expression of the public will is permitted. The governing group consists of the three Brothers Bratiano, all of whom have held important public posts, one of them as Premier; Miron Christea, Patriarch of the State Church, and the Prince Barbu Stirbey, who married a sister of the eldest Bratiano, and has the favor of Queen Marie. King Ferdinand takes an official hand in public affairs, and in the last general election an effort was made to capitalize his name by the People's Party; but observers in Bucharest declare that he acted apparently in sympathy with the oligarchy.

In part the Rumanian oligarchy is hereditary. The father of the Bratianos was chiefly responsible for the selection of the nation's first King, and served as his Premier. This was Charles I of the House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who adopted the Rumanian spelling of Carol, and whose Queen was Carmen Sylva. Ferdinand, the present ruler, is his nephew; and Queen Marie was a British Princess, daughter of

the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a granddaughter of Queen Victoria.

Ionel, senior son of the elder Bratiano, succeeded his father as Premier, and has served thrice in that post, the last time for the full constitutional term of four years. One of the brothers has been Minister of Finance since the World War, and another has been the party leader in the National Assembly. At present the Premier is General Alexander Averescu.

It is not General Averescu's first time in that post. When Field Marshal von Mackensen issued his celebrated ultimatum in 1918, demanding peace negotiations within four days as the price of sparing Rumania from complete destruction, the Cabinet resigned and a new one took its place with Averescu at its head. A treaty was drawn up in July, by which Rumania would have lost a strip of territory along her Carpathian frontier, including all the passes, observation posts and valley heads which had served her so well for defensive purposes; and in addition she would have lost important oil concessions and the Iron Gate of the Danube. She would have been defenseless in any future conflict with the Central Powers. But the treaty was never promulgated. King Ferdinand saw to it that his Prime Minister could not find him. He traveled through the mountains until Marshal Foch began striking his final blows; and by the armistice Germany was forced to denounce the treaty.

When Lionel Bratiano's term as Premier expired in the Spring of 1926, the King turned to General Averescu to form a new Cabinet. The action was received with marked disfavor by the Opposition press in Bucharest, and two papers were suppressed for expressing their opinions strongly. Theoretically, the Liberal Party, headed by the Bratianos, was thrown into the Opposition by the selection of Averescu; but the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church, who wields great political influence, transferred his al-



legiance to the People's Party; and in the general election the Liberal Party was reduced as by a prestidigitator's trick from an immense majority to a mere handful. Prince Stirbëy took no active part in that campaign. He has no public interests, or at least has held no elective office. His power is at court.

#### ELECTION SCANDAL

The election of May 25, 1926, illustrates well enough the processes of the suffrage in Rumania. The Cabinet there, as one official put it to me, "makes its own majority." The devices to this end are devious, and were revealed in formal protests filed at Bucharest. In some cases the elector's card, comparable with our registration card, was refused before the election, or the voter was not notified in time to qualify for it. In some cases intimidation was charged; it was asserted that threats had been made to seize a peasant's land, or to ruin a shopkeeper's business. Averescu, represented by pro-Government newspapers as a defender of the minorities, did indeed make certain deals with Zionists and Anti-Semites alike, with Magyars and Rumanians; and he assured the Bessarabians that the military government of the province would cease. Yet the Bessarabians have withdrawn all their Deputies from Parliament on the ground that the promise has been ignored; and other minorities have been almost as emphatic in their protests.

General Averescu is charged with preventing the Opposition from campaigning in the rural districts, where he must obtain his chief vote, and in some instances his soldiery are said to have resorted to the butts of their rifles in carrying out his orders. Soldiers under arms are forbidden to vote; and a good deal of ingenuity was shown in the order to call to the colors just before election day, men who were suspected of being opposed to the Government. The pretense was military exercises. Best of all, the bogey of Bolshevism, a convenient ruse in Rumania, was evoked; and in Klausenberg eighty-seven "conspirators" were arraigned, some of them not more than 14 years old, the chief defendant being a high school girl of 16. The trial was the excuse for an unusual number of gendarmerie in that district. Where necessary,

the returns were falsified, so the Opposition charged.

The power of the oligarchy, however, rests not alone upon devices such as that. Its members have a strong hold upon the economic life of the country, upon its banking, mining and industrial enterprises. The dynasty cannot with safety free itself from such an association, nor defy it without fear of an overturn. The good old days of Divine Right ended with the industrial revolution. No King, not even a dictator like Mussolini, may ignore nowadays the financial, commercial and industrial powers that be. The Rumanian policy toward foreign concessionaires, before the accession of Averescu, was dictated by the desire of the oligarchy to reap for Rumanians all the profits, present and future, arising from exploitation of the country's rich natural resources.

As to Ionel Bratiano's integrity no question has been raised, whatever doubts there may be as to the honesty of certain lieutenants. The former Premier is immensely rich, intensely patriotic and nationalistic; and there is good ground for believing that, in his case at least, the attitude toward "export capital" seeking investment in Rumania was dictated by a sincere desire that his countrymen should control their own economic life. He demanded that at least 51 per cent. of the stock of any foreign enterprise should be held in domestic hands; and he imposed other conditions such as capitalists penetrating a weak country are seldom willing to meet.

Laws were framed so that Rumania might, if she desired, confiscate pre-war foreign investments in mining and oil properties. Both British and American capitalists have claims on account of oil properties which they acquired before the war and which were destroyed by the Rumanians at the direction of the Allies, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. British, American and Dutch capitalists are now seeking other concessions, both for mining and for oil.

So long as Ionel Bratiano was Premier he stuck to his guns in regard to foreign capital. He would not abandon the policy, although it became clear, long before he resigned, that Rumanians could not supply the capital necessary to develop their coun-

try and improve its railways. There must be a loan for the transportation system, and capital from outside for other purposes. When Averescu was appointed Premier, it was possible to extend a more hospitable hand, and to say plausibly that this in itself proved the General was no tool of the oligarchy. "The attitude of the preceding Government," he said, "has been too narrowly nationalistic. Rumania must have financial and technical assistance, as well as the sympathy of such a great country as the United States. I shall abrogate all restrictive measures against the flow of foreign capital into Rumania." He promised gilt-edged security if American bankers would make a loan to the country; at that moment he was negotiating with Italy for the equivalent of \$100,000,000, to be used in railway development, and secured by a mortgage on the existing lines. He was appointed merely as a recess Premier, to hold office until after the general elections, but he succeeded himself, and is expected to continue his policy in regard to foreign capital and to attempt to carry out his plan to inflate the currency with a billion additional lei, if it be legally possible.

Averescu, despite the popular ill-will, made his campaign daringly upon the ground of loyalty to the King. Queen Marie is well-beloved, but no cheers greet Ferdinand when his limousine is seen upon the streets of his capital. His people seem to believe that, if he would, he could unravel the tangle into which affairs of State have fallen, and prevent some of the illegal favoritism which, so it is charged, is shown to the oligarchy and its friends. The public does not understand the extent to which economics operate on present-day government all over the world.

Months before Ionel Bratiano's term as Premier expired, perhaps in anticipation of that time, the then Crown Prince Carol took the bit between his teeth. He is a headstrong young man, but nevertheless the apple of his beautiful mother's eye. Hismorganatic marriage to Zizi Lambrino and its abrupt termination at his mother's behest; his legal marriage to the pretty Princess Hélène of Greece and his desertion of her to flee with a mistress; his comings and goings from the fiestas, carnivals and race



KING FERDINAND I  
Who succeeded to the throne of Rumania  
on Oct. 11, 1914

courses of Venice, Milan, Turin, Auteuil and Paris; and finally his ultimatum regarding the succession to the crown, have bulked large in newspapers of this country and Europe. The ultimatum may have been a challenge or a bluff. The Crown Prince said that unless the court would break its alliance with the oligarchy, he would abdicate. If it was a bluff, it was, after due deliberation, called. Prince Barbu Sirley is credited in Bucharest with having exercised the greatest influence to this end. And so the former Crown Prince, now Citizen Carol Caraiman, after a round of pleasure in Paris, disappeared in his automobile.

Princess Hélène had borne a son, Michel, now four years old, to Carol; and this infant was chosen as the new Crown Prince. Since Ferdinand is past sixty, it is hardly likely that Michel will achieve his majority before the King's death, and he cannot ascend the throne until he is twenty-one. Therefore it became necessary to set up a



regency, and the Bratianos dictated its personnel. The members are the Patriarch, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Nicholas, younger brother of Carol. Averescu announced a plan for dissolving the regency, and making Marie regent instead, on the theory that her popularity and her position of freedom from domination by the oligarchy would please the public; but as this is written the plan has not been put into effect.

#### CAROL'S FOLLOWERS

Carol has his followers in Rumania. One of them is Grigore Filipescu, a Deputy in the lower chamber of Parliament and the owner of a newspaper, *Epoca*. It was in this journal, after a series of violently personal articles about Prince Stirbey, that a lampoon upon the Patriarch was printed, with suppression as a consequence. The owner of the paper also was blamed by the authorities for a poster pasted on walls and tacked on poles about the city, bearing a likeness of the Prince, who abhors such publicity, with an enigmatic legend: "This is the man!" The posters were torn down and destroyed in short order, but not until all Bucharest was whispering about them.

Filipescu, although he seems the boldest, is not necessarily the most earnest of those who believe that Carol might bring order to the kingdom. The young man has said that what Rumania needs is another Mussolini; he has said that there should be better education for the poor, and (how he reconciles this with a dictatorship it is hard to see) greater freedom at the polls. He may have been in subterranean communication with his followers after he abdicated, and there may have been some plot, as many suspected, to overturn the Government; but in Bucharest no official inkling could be obtained as to his whereabouts or his plans. Doubt was expressed in some quarters as to whether, under the Rumanian law, he could forego something not yet his. He could swear away his present title and privileges as Crown Prince, but he could not, so these men said (and one of them was an eminent jurist), ignore the law of primogeniture or forego succession to the crown. If that view be correct, little Michel, although now Crown Prince, is so only in name, and cannot succeed to the

throne; and the regency, whether three men or the Queen compose it, is but an empty honor. If Carol is still alive when the succession comes, the issue may go into the courts. In any event he ranked, while I was in Bucharest, as a problem for the oligarchy comparable with the maintenance of order in the new provinces whose acquisition, after the World War, doubled Rumania's population and her territory.

In a pamphlet, issued by the publicity offices of the Rumanian Government, there is a list of more than one hundred revolutionary movements which have been uncovered and suppressed in Bessarabia alone. Several attempts have been made there on the lives of the royal family, once, during a hunt, by a girl disguised as a cavalry officer. Thousands of peasants are reported to have been slain during insurrections. Bessarabia is the home of the Nationalist Peasants' Party, which has the strongest representation, so far as popular and free expression at the polls counts, in Parliament.

In the Turco-Russian War of 1877-78, Rumania gained her independence as a separate kingdom, but lost Bessarabia to Russia, which had held the province from 1812 to 1856. More than one-third of the population is of Rumanian origin, but uses the Cyrillic alphabet and speaks Russian, not the Low Latin of the mother country. The peasants clearly prefer Russian to Rumanian rule. Rumanian soldiers, setting up a rump Congress, proclaimed the country, after the Czar was overthrown, a republic, and asked for annexation to Rumania. There was no such mandate from the people. Gendarmerie occupied the territory and helped the Bessarabians defend it against Bolshevik attacks; and in 1920 Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan ceded the province to Bucharest. The United States declined to sign this treaty on the ground that we would not be a party to the dismemberment of Russia while that country had no representative Government.

Likewise, as a reward for joining the Allies in the World War, Rumania has received Transylvania, which was glad enough to escape from Austrian oppression, but which supplies the Nationalist bloc in the Parliament at Bucharest—a group constantly at odds with the oligarchy. The

new northeastern boundary, cutting across railroads on the Transylvanian plain, has helped derange the commercial life of Hungary, and has deepened the traditional hatred between the Magyars and the Rumanians, although they are officially on friendly terms. Their differences are as much religious as racial, for the Hungarians are Roman Catholic; and ever since the Rumanians, defying the League of Nations, took Budapest in 1919, there has been the threat of trouble between the two. Even now, it is said, Rumanian diplomats stationed in Hungary are not admitted to Budapest clubs. This is an extraordinary situation between two countries ostensibly in amicable relations.

### SPOILS OF WAR

Bukovina, formerly a crown province of Austria, is populated chiefly by Rumanians, Ruthenians and Germans; while in the eastern Banat, another Rumanian war prize, the language and customs of this country predominate. In all these acquired provinces, as well as in the Dobrudja, which was a trophy of the Second Balkan War, Rumania had expropriated the holdings of the large landowners, chiefly Russian and Magyar noblemen, and has distributed them among the peasants. Four-fifths of the Rumanian population is agricultural. The peasants paid something for their new farms, and the former landlords received something; but instead of pacifying the peasantry the move brought additional troubles to the expanded kingdom, for the ousted noblemen incited the illiterate farmers to revolt. In Bessarabia difficulties of this sort have been particularly acute, and they were aggravated in April, 1926, when Germany and Russia signed a treaty of neutrality.

This treaty, which came on the heels of the failure to admit Germany to the Council of the League of Nations, probably had its real beginnings in a military entente between Rumania and Poland. There had been an alliance between these two, but the new convention was much more ambitious, and was directed against Soviet aggression on the eastern border of either State. It was construed as a threat to Germany, to

Lithuania and to Bulgaria. Poland and Rumania are regarded in that part of the world as bitterly nationalistic and jingoistic countries.

It is unnecessary to go into details of the Russo-German treaty, other than to say that it pledges "friendly contact with each other," binds the principals to neutrality should either be attacked by a third party, as well as to refrain from joining any economic or financial boycott against either of them, and sets the term of the covenant at five years. As for the neutrality clause, it will be binding only in case it proves profitable to observe it. The World War taught us at least that much about treaties. However, if Bessarabian peasants, in a seemingly "spontaneous" revolution, were to demand reunion with Russia, the Soviets would feel much freer to send troops into the province, to help satisfy this aspiration, now that an understanding has been reached with Berlin. The Little Entente, comprising Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, almost gave way to panic when the terms of the neutrality treaty became known. The immediate effect was to sober the militarists of these countries as well as of Poland; and Rumania began talking at once about the advisability of throwing Moscow a sop in the form of diplomatic recognition. When Berlin turned her back on Geneva and her face to the East, the whole pattern of European politics was further complicated; but nowhere was the gesture received with worse grace than in Bucharest.

The Rumanian Constitution guarantees to citizens, "without any distinction as to origin, language or religion," liberty "of conscience, of education, liberty of the press, liberty of meeting, liberty of association, and all liberties and rights established by the laws." What this high-sounding assurance means for the press we have already seen. It means no more in its other clauses. Yet Rumania, like the other Balkan States, like Poland and Czechoslovakia also, was required by the Big Four at Versailles to sign a separate minorities treaty with the Allies, guaranteeing certain rights to aliens living within her borders. The Big Four, under the leadership in this instance of Woodrow Wilson, thought that in this way one of the causes of internal



friction and possible war might be removed.

#### ANTI-SEMITIC LAWS

In Rumania there are over 750,000 Jews, and there would be more if severe anti-Jewish laws had not caused a tide of emigration. In the Parliament, despite the Constitution and the minorities treaty, there is an Anti-Semitic Party, called by that name. There is a customs ruling forbidding any person to leave Rumania with more than the equivalent of \$100 in money, but I was told officially that it was enforced only against Jews. This is but one instance of the discrimination practiced against the race. And the feeling against Magyars is only a little less bitter, partly because Hungary looks upon her neighbor with contempt and partly because of religious differences.

As a fact the minorities treaty itself, making it possible for aliens to establish their own schools, teach their own language, publish their own newspapers, and so set up enclaves within the State, is open to grave question. It is a chip on the shoulder, a bid for a fight. In each of the

smaller States which have signed it—for it varies but little as drawn for each of them—it is sowing the seeds of trouble.

Thus Rumania, with a treasury so depleted that she is behindhand with salaries, with tariff walls against exports as well as against imports, with restless foreigners among her citizens, with a defection from the royal family and a questionable regency, with outlying provinces which are a fruitful source of irredentism, each a possible Alsace-Lorraine, is indeed a troubled kingdom, however heavy the iron hand of the oligarchy. Rich in minerals and forests and foodstuffs, she is in danger none the less because she attracts the covetous eye of the capitalist. The very suppression of the popular will, under the pretense of democratic formulae, is a provocation to insurrection. The old Rumania enjoyed cultural and racial solidarity. Perhaps the new Rumania, embracing the mouths of the Danube, the most important waterway in Europe, and stretching from that river to Russia, from the Black Sea to Hungary, may not be so fortunate, after all, in the plums which have fallen into her lap as remuneration for her sacrifices in the World War.



# Our Government Blunders in Tacna-Arica

By SAMUEL ABBOT MAGINNIS

Former United States Minister to Bolivia

The author of the following article was United States Minister to Bolivia from 1919 to 1922, serving under President Wilson and for a few months under President Harding. During his incumbency there occurred what were known as the Peruvian Riots in Bolivia in March, 1920, and later, in the following July, the first revolution in Bolivia in twenty-two years. Both incidents gave rise to a delicate and dangerous international situation by reason of the unsettled Tacna-Arica problem. Being, as it were, at the top of the triangle at such a time, Mr. Maginnis was able to study the problem from a neutral standpoint and thereby obtain a clearer view of the whole situation than was possible by any one here in the United States.—Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.

DIPLOMATIC blundering by the State Department is alone responsible for the awkward position in which the United States now finds itself in attempting to bring about a solution of the Tacna-Arica problem. This difficult and delicate question, which is really part of the larger "Problem of the Pacific," is vitally bound up with the preservation of peace in South America. Not only is it to the interest of Chile, Peru and Bolivia, the three countries most directly concerned, that a solution should be found, but it is also of the utmost importance for the prestige of the United States that an embarrassing and even dangerous situation should be cleared up.

The Treaty of Ancon, made at Lima between Chile and Peru after the war of 1879, definitely transferred the territory of Tarapaca from Peru to Chile for all time, and left the provinces of Tacna and Arica subject to a plebiscite to be held after ten years, to determine of which country the territory should become a permanent part, the other country to be paid 10,000,000 silver pesos, Chilean or Peruvian soles of equal weight and legal tender. This plebiscite has never been held. Bolivia was not a party to the Treaty of Ancon, but later, in 1904, made a separate treaty with Chile by which it finally abandoned not only any claim to the territory of Antofagasta, which had been taken over by Chile after the war, but also as to any

legal claim against Chile for an outlet to the sea.

The provinces of Tacna-Arica, having no minerals and being barren, have no real value, except in so far as the city of Arica, with a population of ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants, is a port. The city of Tacna, with about five thousand inhabitants, lies twenty miles northeast of Arica, with which it is connected by railroad, and upon which it is dependent. Even as a port Arica means nothing to either Chile or Peru, because the territory immediately to the south, being the northern portion of Chile, as well as the territory to the immediate north, being the southern part of Peru, is almost barren. Arica is and always has been the natural port and outlet for Bolivia, the third country in the triangle, which has never had any legal claim or title to it, because before the war of 1879 it was a part of Peru. Nor had Bolivia any real need for Arica, because it had before the war several ports in the territory of Antofagasta.

During the forty-four years that have passed since the Treaty of Ancon was signed, the unsettled question of Tacna-Arica has not only served to rouse on the slightest provocation the most bitter feelings between Peru and Chile, but it has created what is known as the "Problem of the Pacific." This problem arises from the fact that although Arica is the nearest and most natural point of entry and outlet for Bolivia, neither Chile nor Peru has any



fixed legal title in the disputed territory to permit of its transfer to Bolivia, to which country it must inevitably go. Under the terms of the Treaty of 1904 Chile constructed the railroad from Arica to La Paz, the largest city of Bolivia, and this railroad continues to be the property of the Chilean Government and operated by it.

The problem has become increasingly a danger to the peace of South America as the years have passed, not only because of the dispute between Chile and Peru but on account of the geographical position and economic interests of Bolivia, which make it practically impossible for that country to remain neutral as between Chile and Peru. Bolivia was therefore bound to force the issue.

#### PRESIDENT HARDING'S MISTAKE

This was more or less the condition existing when in 1922 President Harding issued his invitation. The first diplomatic mistake upon the part of our Department of State was then made in not arranging to advise Bolivia unofficially to "sit tight" and await developments, because, unfortunately, two days after the invitation was made public the Bolivian Government telegraphed direct to President Harding openly asking that an invitation also be sent to Bolivia. President Harding could only advise Bolivia that he could not extend the invitation because that country had no legal claim to the provinces, and could only be permitted to participate in any conference by the consent of both Chile and Peru, which, obviously, at that stage of the proceedings, was impossible to secure. The result was that right at the beginning the door was definitely slammed in the face of Bolivia and the one country most vitally interested excluded from the discussion.

Before President Harding acted both Chile and Peru naturally were consulted, and had expressed themselves as being entirely willing to accept the invitation and send representatives to Washington to make every effort to arrive at an agreement. But after the conference had been in progress several weeks the Chilean and Peruvian representatives found it impossible to arrive at any acceptable formula for holding the plebiscite provided for by

the Treaty of Ancon. They then appealed to the good offices of the United States. President Harding accepted the difficult rôle of arbitrator at the request of both countries with the sole intention of assisting, as an entirely disinterested neutral, in finding an equitable solution of a complicated and delicate problem.

The very fact that Chile and Peru were willing to submit the question to arbitration was sufficient evidence of their desire to settle the matter and of their good faith in requesting that the President of the United States act as the arbitrator. However, the President should not have accepted the rôle of arbitrator except under conditions sufficiently broad to avoid his being placed in the position of sitting as a court to pass upon and interpret strictly and legally the terms of the Treaty of Ancon after forty-four years had passed during which the provinces, which had been Peruvian at the time of the treaty, had remained in the possession of and under the control of Chile, an interested party.

The important parts of the text of the agreement finally arrived at between Chile and Peru are the following:

For the purpose of defining the scope of the arbitration provided for in Article 2 of the Protocol subscribed upon this same date, the undersigned are agreed to leave on record the following points:

\* \* \* In order to determine the manner in which the stipulation of Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon shall be fulfilled, it is agreed to submit to arbitration the question whether, *in the present circumstances*, a plebiscite shall or shall not be held. \* \* \*

3. Should the arbitrator decide that a plebiscite need not be held, both parties, at the request of either of them, shall discuss the situation brought about by such award.

4. In the event that no agreement should ensue both Governments will solicit, for this purpose, the good offices of the Government of the United States of America.

5. Included in the arbitration likewise are the claims pending with regard to Tarata and Chilcaya, according to the determination of the final disposition of the territory to which Article 3 of the Treaty refers.

Several months were given over to the presentation of the case by both Chile and Peru, who were represented by a distin-

guished array of American as well as their own counsel.

### MR. HUGHES'S DIPLOMATIC BLUNDER

President Coolidge naturally did not have the time to make a careful study of the matter and had to depend upon Mr. Hughes, who, as Secretary of State, was his chief adviser on foreign affairs. When the President's decision that the plebiscite should be held was announced, it came as a distinct surprise and shock to those who understood the situation. This decision was indeed one of the greatest diplomatic blunders that we have ever made. Mr. Hughes evidently studied and decided the issue as a legal proposition rather than as a question for an arbitrator's solution. The very words, "in the present circumstances," used in the agreement submitting the matter to arbitration should have been sufficient warning that it was fully intended by both parties that the arbitrator should be guided not only by the text of the Treaty of Ancon, but also by the fact that thirty-nine years had passed during which the question had become a political issue in both countries and so wrapped up with geographical, political, economic, historical and sentimental considerations that all these "present circumstances" should have been taken into account. "Tacna-Arica" has become so much a symbol in the hearts and lives of both the Chilean and the Peruvian people that no Government in either country could exist for twenty-four hours after having permitted the territories in dispute to pass directly to the other.

Another interesting phase of the complicated problem after the award was made lies in the decision of the arbitrator with reference to claims for reimbursement and accounting. It is interesting to quote from the arbitrator's award on this point:

Chile contends that the arbitrator shall impose as a condition of the plebiscite in case Chile is defeated in the plebiscite she should be reimbursed for her expenditures for public works during the past forty years in Tacna and Arica.

Peru on the other hand insists that any investments or improvements made by Chile in Tacna and Arica since 1894 were made at her own peril, and that Peru is not responsible for their value.

\* \* \* the arbitrator does not consider himself to be entitled by the terms of submission to pass upon these claims as substantive matters. \* \* \*

The arbitrator therefore dismisses these claims of both parties on the ground that they are not within his jurisdiction.

If the plebiscite had been held and the decision had been in favor of Peru, does any one really think that Chile would turn over those provinces to Peru without first being reimbursed for her expenditure of several million dollars in the building of port works, public improvements in the towns of Tacna and Arica, and the Arica-La Paz Railroad? What could the arbitrator have done more than file his decision, publish it to the world, and leave the territories as they are, under the authority and sovereignty of Chile, until Chile and Peru could agree upon this



Map of Bolivia, showing also the territories which cut Bolivia off from the Pacific Ocean



point? So much feeling in both countries would be roused that it is more than questionable whether it would be possible to get a Peruvian Congress to authorize any Peruvian Government to pay to Chile compensation, because Peru would take the same position in that case as before the arbitrator, namely, that those improvements had become a part of the soil. Any Government in Chile that would permit the transfer of the territory without compensation to Chile for money expended would be out of office the next day.

#### PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S AWARD

President Coolidge's award was such a blow to the Peruvian people that it was some time before the Peruvian Government would agree to go on at all. Peru had consistently maintained that it was impossible to hold a plebiscite. Chile, rather naturally in upholding the Treaty of Ancón, contended that it could and should be held. Mr. Hughes in his opinion waived aside all the claims made by Peru with reference to the deportation of Peruvians during the years when the provinces had been under the control of Chile, and bluntly, without reservation of any kind or character, decided that the plebiscite should be held, and laid down the rules and conditions under which it should be carried out. Peru complained that no provision was made to neutralize the territory. To a neutral observer the question naturally arises as to whether or not the decision was fair to place the Chilean Government in the delicate position of remaining in control of the disputed territory while the attempt was being made to solve the problem in which the Chilean people felt that their very lives and honor were at stake.

If Mr. Hughes and his advisers had really understood the situation they would have advised President Coolidge as the arbitrator to decide that "in the present circumstances" the plebiscite need not be held, but that Chile and Peru should attempt to arrive at an agreement, and that in the event no agreement should ensue, upon the solicitation of both countries the good offices of the United States Government could be invoked to a general arbitration of the entire problem. This would

have been a diplomatic achievement. Instead Mr. Hughes made President Coolidge the judge to interpret the language of the treaty and placed upon him the responsibility of carrying out a plebiscite which was impossible.

The next mistake was made by President Coolidge in appointing General Pershing as the American member of the Plebiscitary Commission. Although it was believed that his prestige would make for success, it was unfortunate both for the General personally and because the appointment of a military man was, in a way, notice to the countries involved that the power of the United States was behind him. Moreover, to put a man whose entire life had been spent under military rules and regulations in a diplomat's position to handle a most delicate situation was at least highly questionable.

Secretary Kellogg fell heir to the problem and has continued until recently to make the same announcements as had been made by Secretary Hughes that matters were proceeding smoothly and that it was a wonderful diplomatic achievement on the part of the Government of the United States. However, in the latter part of November and the early part of December, 1925, after General Pershing had laid down his rules and conditions, and the first difficulties had occurred with Chile, Secretary Kellogg began to realize that he was in trouble. He was warned that neither General Pershing nor any one else would be able to hold the plebiscite, and the suggestion was made to him at that time that an attempt should be made through diplomatic channels to induce Chile and Peru to agree to allow the plebiscite to be passed and the entire problem submitted to a general arbitration. In the latter part of December General Pershing was permitted to resign in a desperate last minute attempt to save him, on the rather thin excuse, as it is generally considered in South America, that his teeth needed attention, and General Lassiter was appointed to bear the brunt of what was to follow. Five months later General Lassiter wrote a report, which was made public, placing, or attempting to place, *all* the responsibility for the fiasco upon Chile.

This is manifestly unfair, because the

real responsibility rests upon the Department of State first, because of the mistakes already mentioned, in permitting the President of the United States to be placed in the position in which he now is, and, secondly, in ordering a plebiscite without properly neutralizing the disputed territory, and thus placing both Chile and Peru in an unfair position.

#### OUR INTERESTS JEOPARDIZED

We want the friendship of Chile just as we want that of the other South American countries. It would be most unfortunate for us to lose Chile's friendship in attempting to settle a controversy in which, as has already been remarked, we have no direct interest. On the other hand, since we have several hundred million dollars invested in Chile as well as in other South American countries, it is certainly no light matter that the State Department should jeopardize our interests. Chile, Peru, Bolivia and the other South American countries need our capital with which to develop their great natural resources, and it is just as necessary for them as it is for us that we should work together in friendship and confidence.

The unfortunate position in which we find ourselves can be attributed, not to any lack of good faith either on the part of our Government or the Governments of Chile or Peru, but to a woeful lack of understanding upon the part of our Government officials with reference to the countries involved and their internal situation, and of the real essentials necessary to a diplomatic solution of this problem. We have never appreciated the delicate position in which our decision placed both the Chilean and Peruvian Governments with their own respective peoples. This question is not, and never has been, an ordinary easily solved one with those countries, where it is considered and felt as affecting their honor and their very lives.

Secretary Kellogg's recent suggestion to the Chilean and Peruvian Governments, through their Ambassadors, that an equitable solution could be found by a division of the territory, providing a corridor for Bolivia, with the city of Arica as a port, with adequate compensation to Chile and Peru, was the right move but made the

wrong way. It was neither diplomatic nor fair to either of the two Governments, because it failed to take into consideration the difficult and delicate position in which they were placed with their own people. The publicity given to the fact that it came from our Government gave it the tinge of dictation and only served to aggravate an already difficult situation. The evident attempt now made by Secretary Kellogg to exculpate our Government by a weak endeavor to place the entire responsibility on Chile seems almost too childish to be permitted to stand as an act of the "first" country in the world.

A solution acceptable to the countries interested will not be found through either charges of bad faith publicly made or the exchange of notes while in that frame of mind. It must come through closer negotiations with the interested countries, in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, appealing particularly to the patriotism and good sense of the Chilean and Peruvian Governments, though allowing them the opportunity first to consult with their own people before having proposals made through the newspapers. The question of Tacna and Arica is one phase of the problem of the Pacific which will only be settled when a solution is arrived at by arbitration, under conditions acceptable to Peru and Chile, providing for the acquisition by Bolivia (to which country lies its entire value, and to which it is vital) of Arica as a port, with a sufficient strip of territory for the operation of the railroad. Tacna could be given to Peru and the southern third of the territory to Chile. However, this feature of a settlement and any other concessions would be details in the final working out.

Much that has happened during the negotiations has not been made public. The writer is reliably informed that a short time before General Lassiter's report was published Chile made a proposition to transfer Tacna to Peru, to give a strip of territory to Bolivia leading out to the coast just north of Arica and to let Chile retain the balance of the disputed territory. Peru countered by offering to give the southern end of the disputed territory to Chile, a strip of territory as an outlet south of Arica to Bolivia and the remainder of the territory, including Tacna and Arica, to



Peru. Although these proposals were naturally rejected, one cannot help wondering why the chance of making them the basis of a settlement was destroyed by the publication of General Lassiter's report even before they could be properly considered. When we undertook to bring about a settlement we should have known that it would require an unlimited amount of tact and patience upon our part.

#### BOLIVIA'S POSITION

Since the publication of General Lassiter's report, practically all active negotiations in Washington have ceased. A few weeks ago Eduardo Diaz de Medina, acting as special envoy from the Bolivian Government, initiated negotiations with the Chilean Government in Santiago and according to reports had almost reached an agreement with the Chilean Government for the acquisition of Arica by Bolivia. At about the same time Peru made overtures to the Bolivian Government to transfer Arica to Bolivia under certain conditions. President Siles of Bolivia has announced publicly that the Bolivian Government will not deal directly with either the Chilean or the Peruvian Governments separately with respect to Tacna and Arica, and that he would prefer to have

the question submitted to a General Conference in Washington.

The position of Bolivia is extremely difficult. She would like to have the port, but cannot afford to deal directly with either Chile or Peru. Both Chile and Peru have shown plainly by their offers that they appreciate that the port of Arica must inevitably go to Bolivia and that the problem should be solved, but because of the suspicion and bitterness existing between them they cannot reach an agreement.

President Coolidge awarded the strip of territory immediately north of Tacna, known as Tarata, to Peru, and returned to Peru this strip of her lost territory. Peru is now in possession of Tarata. With the failure of the plebiscite, if the arbitrator abandons his efforts to settle the Tacna-Arica question, should Tarata then be handed back to Chile?

The "problem of the Pacific" must be solved in order to preserve peace in South America. It is to the interest of both Peru and Chile that a solution be found as quickly as possible. For the United States the situation has damaging possibilities for our interest and prestige. For the three countries interested, Chile, Peru and Bolivia, and their neighboring allies, it holds possibilities of grave danger.



# The Navy the Right Arm of the State Department

By CLIFFORD ALBION TINKER

Formerly an officer in the United States Naval Reserve Flying Corps, attached to the Bureau of Aeronautics

AMERICAN foreign policy is now and generally has been directed, when our economic conditions have warranted, toward extending our commercial relations peacefully, while having as little political connection as possible with foreign nations. At various times since the establishment of our independence this country has been faced with the necessity of mobilizing its power to resist the aggression of foreign peoples against what were deemed our rights. When we have not maintained military forces adequate to our national dignity and security, we have been overtaken by disaster to our peaceful commercial expansion. Conversely, whenever in peace we have maintained adequate military forces, our foreign trade and security have not been threatened seriously either by diplomacy or force.

It is of interest to recall specific historical examples of events which gradually have led us to adopt the principle, as expressed by President Coolidge in his inaugural address of 1925, of maintaining "such a military force as comports with the dignity and security of a great people." That Congress has made the Navy our first line of armed defense is significant of the fact that our naval forces have in the past been our first shield for peace and successful commerce when diplomatic treaties, peace tribunals, arbitration and conferences have failed to insure the continuation of peace with independence and a stable foreign trade.

Our foreign policy immediately after the Revolutionary War was that of avoiding foreign entanglements. At the same time we encouraged and built up a vast maritime trade, as necessary then as now to our prosperity. But our Navy was scrapped. When, however, the Barbary

pirates attacked our merchant ships and extorted from our defenseless Government tremendous ransom, we found that only by building fighting ships and suppressing this piracy were we able to enjoy peace and uninterrupted trade. The Barbary depredations continued, in all, over a period of fifteen years because a force could not be improvised immediately to quell them.

Next, France and England in turn denied us maritime freedom, and again, after efforts at arbitration had failed, we responded as staunchly as we could with our small Navy. Only the fact that France and England were at that time in the throes of a bitter struggle against each other enabled our Navy to win its glorious victories on the sea for the maintenance of our commerce.

In 1823 we served notice, particularly on European nations, of our first definite foreign policy—the Monroe Doctrine—which may be summarized in its present-day effectiveness as opposed to the encroachment of any foreign nation upon the political independence of American States under any guise and to the acquisition in any manner of the control of additional territory in this hemisphere by any such power. European nations were reaching out for more possessions on the American Continent. In order to maintain the doctrine Congress increased the number of steam naval ships of long cruising radius. Thus, in support of our foreign policy as it developed, American naval power was increased.

## THREATS AGAINST MONROE DOCTRINE

At irregular intervals there have been threats against the Monroe Doctrine. Europe watched our struggles in Mexico and our Civil War for signs of American weakness in the enforcement of that doctrine. The power of the national Navy at the end



of the Civil War was vastly superior to Great Britain's, and our diplomatic influence was consequently of greater moment. Yet, ten years after the Civil War, the American Navy was a byword for inefficiency among the maritime nations of the world, and on account of our weakened condition we were again denied the respect of foreign nations. Spanish Coast Guards captured American ships. American citizens found on a Cuban filibuster boat were shot without trial. Our foreign trade dwindled from the seas.

Again we were roused from national lethargy when we were faced, between 1880 and 1890, by attacks on the Monroe Doctrine. These threats came from Germany and Great Britain. To meet them we built the new steel Navy, which incidentally greatly influenced the development of the steel industry in this country. It should be noted here that in building our Navy we have developed many by-products and the needs of this organization have benefited our industrial development.

In constructing our new steel navy we evinced a growing interest in sea power—an interest forced by the aggressive policies of foreign nations. We were no longer a nation open to easy burglary, nor were we defiant, but convinced that we were our own best friends. We abandoned the "groundhog" principle—afraid to show our shadow—and decided to reveal our real selves. The Venezuela affair in 1895 proved that we would defend the Monroe Doctrine, and since the Spanish-American War the doctrine has not been seriously threatened.

Our foreign policy of harmonizing commercial expansion with peace has of late turned, though not entirely, toward the Pacific Ocean and the Far East. Since 1843 we have been interested in developing trade in that direction. We have (1) insisted, though not defiantly, upon the open door, (2) requested the maintenance of the integrity of China, (3) cooperated with other powers in the declaration of common principles, (4) cooperated with other powers by conference and consultation in the interests of peace, (5) agreed upon a partial limitation of naval armaments, and (6) agreed upon a limitation of fortifications and naval bases.

The pursuance of our policy in the Far East has been marked by peace, for, although there are certain disturbing elements, nothing of late years has marred the pacific continuance of our trade relations, save the occasional danger to our citizens from factions engaged in almost ceaseless civil war in China, with the resultant necessity of our maintaining a small naval protective force in Chinese waters.

In addition to our naval forces in Asiatic waters we have a small special service squadron consisting of second-line cruisers in the Caribbean, with their base at Panama, and a naval detachment of one cruiser and six destroyers in European waters, with their base at Constantinople. The commanders of these naval detachments carry out the desires of the State Department in protecting our interests, including commercial interests. Whenever necessary, the vessels from these units are dispatched to various ports in their areas at the request of the State Department.

There seems to be a misconception in the minds of a particular class of American citizens to the effect that our naval organization, particularly because of its presence in foreign waters, is a force formed and manipulated by naval officers not responsible in any degree to the Government and therefore, according to some critics, an imminent and growing danger to the continuance of our peaceful relations with foreign countries. Nothing could be further from the truth, since such critics overlook the civil authority residing in the President, Congress and the State Department, which by our Constitution and laws govern at all times the size and movements of the naval and military organizations. When, intentionally or through ignorance, critics overlook these governing factors they apparently would deprive the country of its armament because the Administration, in backing up its foreign policy with adequate preparedness to resist aggression, is not guided by their views as to the conduct of foreign relations.

#### CONTROL OF NAVY MOVEMENTS

No naval units are assigned to definite areas, nor are any foreign movements of our Navy undertaken, without a careful consideration of the political and diplo-

matic effects of such a procedure by the President and the State Department. Naval units are assigned to areas outside the United States by direction of the President, and are under instructions from the State Department, acting for the President. Liaison with these units and Washington is particularly close in these days of radio and telephone. In fact, our Navy today is radio controlled. Foreign cruises, involving any considerable naval force, are approved by the President only after a careful scrutiny of their political effect. How careful this procedure is may best be realized by quoting from the late President Roosevelt's autobiography an extract concerning the cruise of the American fleet around the world in 1907-8. The President's instructions to the naval officers of this fleet are evidence of the responsibility under which naval officers are placed by the civil power of our Government:

I had become convinced that for many reasons it was essential that we should have it clearly understood by our own people especially, but also by other peoples, that the Pacific was as much our home waters as the Atlantic, and that our fleet could and would at will pass from one to the other of the two oceans. \* \* \* Many persons publicly and privately protested against the move on the ground that Japan would accept it as a threat. To this I answered nothing in public. In private I said that I did not believe Japan would so regard it, because Japan knew my sincere friendship and admiration for her and realized that we could not as a nation have any intention of attacking her; and that if there were any such feeling on the part of Japan as was alleged, that very fact rendered it imperative that that fleet should go. \* \* \* In a personal interview before they left I had explained to the officers in command that I believed the trip would be one of absolute peace, but that they were to take exactly the same precautions against sudden attack of any kind as if we were at war with all the nations of the earth; and that no excuse of any kind would be accepted if there were a sudden attack of any kind and we were taken unawares.

The similarity of "public and private" protests against the 1907-8 cruise of the American fleet to those against the naval cruise of 1925 to Australia and New Zealand is remarkable. The announcement of the 1925 cruise, which was sanctioned by the President, brought a deluge of letters to the President and to the Navy Department. The bulk of these protests closely

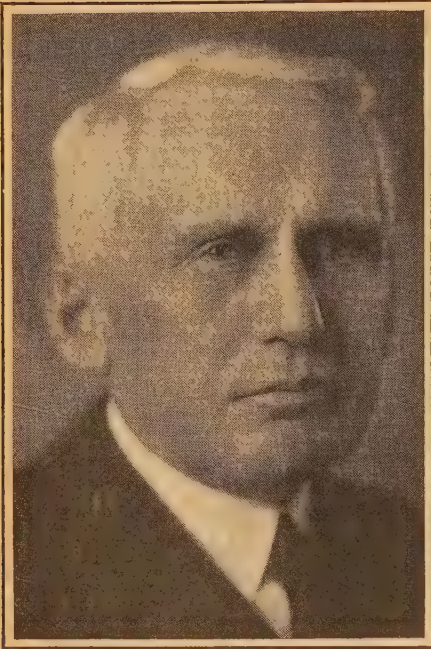
followed a "form letter" sent by pacifist organizations which maintain well-financed headquarters in Washington. In fact, a great number of the letters received by the President and the Secretary of the Navy were mimeographs prepared by one organization and signed by various members. Another organization sent copies of its letters to the press, thus making a "public" protest, which ascribed to the foreign policy of our Administration a sinister purpose. In making such a protest, especially one based on fallacious premises—too common with our theoretical internationalists—these organizations tended to stir up trouble where none existed, except in the minds of jingo writers of foreign countries.

As an example of false premises, this propaganda charged among other things that the 1925 cruise to Australia and New Zealand would cause Japan and Russia to join forces, though it is patent to well-informed persons that any nation can visit another if it so chooses, and that Japan and Russia were more likely at that time to fight than be thrown together as allies. The effect of the Australia-New Zealand cruise is now apparent. It accomplished two outstanding results: First, it gave our fleet unparalleled training without "menacing" any nation in the Pacific, and second, the officers and men of the fleet, warmly received in Australia and New Zealand, conducted themselves so excellently—leaving an impression of "magnificent behavior and splendid discipline"—that they justly earned such merit as is awarded to diplomats who successfully carry messages of international good-will and friendship. The success of the cruise as a trade stimulus stands out in bold relief, and much of the credit must be extended to our naval personnel, especially the officers who commanded the fleet units.

#### CHARGES AGAINST NAVAL OFFICERS

To the uninitiated it might seem strange that naval officers should be concerned with diplomatic or international policies. There is a constant paid propaganda going on against our military officers in an attempt to class them in the public mind as "militarists," as advocates of the "power of might." Naval officers are called propo-





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FRANK B. KELLOGG  
Secretary of State

nents of swollen "sea power" and their influence on our foreign relations is termed "malignant." It is safe to assert that such charges against our naval officers are brought by people who do not favor the foreign policy of the Administration and who are blaming the Navy—which is merely an instrument of the Government—for carrying out the Government's policy. Naval officers cannot go beyond the final dictates of any Administration. In the interest of world enlightenment, what would these propagandists against sea power propose as an alternative in the matter of adjusting our foreign policy in a world of commercially competing nations maintaining large armaments and envious of our economic wealth? Inasmuch as we have become a nation dependent for our prosperity on overseas commerce, the abandonment of protective armaments or disarmament by example—two pleas of our present-day pacifists—could only end in such loss of sea power as would bring political stress and material privation.

In advocating the limitation of our Navy below the standard desired by the Admin-

istration, these pacifists propose to weaken a valuable instrument of the Government in its policy of maritime commercial expansion, and are thus allying themselves with foreign nations which aim at their own maritime supremacy. In attacking the maintenance of our sea power and our naval officers the advocates of pacifism are virtually and actually surrendering without protest our overseas trade to those foreign nations who desire nothing better.

Naval officers, however, never forget that sea power is political and diplomatic, for the simple reason that they are necessarily constantly employed in errands of diplomacy during the long years of peace between wars. They are not, as roving diplomats, irresponsible, but are, when assigned to diplomatic work at the request of the State Department, always and entirely under direction of that department and the Navy Department, both in turn acting for the President. Even the most trivial naval landing in Central America is made only at the earnest behest of the State Department or its representatives. In present-day diplomatic missions radio communication makes consultation with the Government at home so easy that the most resolute and self-confident man would think twice before adopting a course of action, when he would act without hesitation if weeks or months instead of hours were necessary for consultation. The Navy Department, moreover, holds the naval officer strictly responsible for the consequences of his bad judgment, nor is he excused for following the unsound advice of a consul. Naval officers as a class, and especially senior naval officers, are well fitted for diplomatic missions. They are more widely traveled and have more contact with foreign officials than any other class of our citizens, and as officers they are required to have a discriminating knowledge of foreign relations.

This truth has been evident in the past. The diplomatic acumen shown in the tasks assigned by the Government to Decatur in 1801, Wilkes, Kearney, Jones, M. C. Perry, Shufeldt and other naval officers is a glorious chapter in one hundred and fifty years of spotless naval record, and is one which is being amplified in the present century. That the State Department has confidence

in naval officers when assigning them to diplomatic tasks can be realized from the tone of an extract quoting a late Secretary of State, John Hay: "I have always felt relieved when a naval officer has arrived on the scene, because he has always kept within the situation"; and again: "We have had a number of difficult international situations in the West Indies in the last two years and they have all been handled by naval officers very well. They have not made one single mistake."

The records of our present-day officers of the Navy who have been assigned to diplomatic missions are no less satisfactory to the Administration. The work of Admiral Bristol, recently reappointed at the request of the State Department as High Commissioner to Turkey; the excellent administration of the Marine Corps High Commissioner to Haiti; the execution of diplomatic tasks by our naval missions and our attachés at foreign embassies—all have been of high character.

#### UNPROTESTING ADMIRALS

Perhaps one of the attributes which aids a naval officer in becoming a responsible diplomat is his ability to obey orders. Our army and navy officers are schooled throughout their entire lives in discipline and in the execution of missions under orders. Rarely do they make mistakes in this direction; when they do they are severely made aware of their errors. The best example of a naval officer's inherent respect for orders is found in the Washington conference. There, seated at the conference table, three senior Admirals of our Navy accepted without public protest the dictates of the Administration as to a limitation of naval armaments, knowing that in thus fostering a gesture toward international good-will, not to mention economy, the Navy was sacrificing a program approved by Congress which would have given the United States fleet power approximately equal to the combined fleets of Great Britain and Japan. In accepting this eclipse of American sea power they were true disciples of Stephen Decatur, who said: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

Recently a naval officer to whom many



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CURTIS D. WILBUR  
Secretary of the Navy

diplomatic missions had been successfully entrusted, made this statement concerning the outlook for the future:

It may seem a strange assertion to make in the light of all the post-war conflicts of interest that are so apparent, but I believe that there is a distinct advance in the general attitude of nations as regards foreign relations—one toward the Golden Rule as a governing condition of international conduct. That goal is still far distant, but there has been progress toward it.

Outlining as an instance the revised view of foreign nations toward China in the adoption of the Nine-Power Treaty, he continued:

A similar advance in international ethics may be seen in other directions, often disguised and perhaps with its inception in enlightened self-interest as well as moral principle; but I believe that the latter motive is increasingly operative, following the enlightenment of the group conscience of civilized peoples.

My own faith in this matter would not, however, lead me to relax one iota of vigilance if diplomatic duty came my way; for there are still plenty of statesmen and diplomats whose interpretation of the Golden Rule in international deal-



ings is more in accord with David Harum's statement of it than with that of the Scriptures; but if my faith is justified as a general conclusion, then that conclusion must be reckoned with in statesmanship and diplomacy. This is especially true for Americans, and for naval officers as representative Americans, because the United States has been throughout all its history a torchbearer in international ethics.

Today our foreign policy of pursuing commercial expansion peacefully is taking us into delicate paths. We are the richest nation in the world; our foreign trade and credits have grown to huge proportions. There is hardly a spot in the world in which we are not interested. In Europe we have rendered extensive moral and financial assistance as a result of which the Dawes plan was formulated as a start toward the economic reorganization of Europe. We have proposed to enter the World Court, reserving as our right the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. A creditor nation is never popular, and in expanding our commerce we are faced with the prospect of politico-commercial alliances to hinder the advance of our trade. We need not be reminded of the fact that we occupy a place in the political organization of the world which demands tact and firmness in our diplomacy.

This is true, also, of our position with reference to the Far East, though the pressing problem is essentially at the moment one of European reorganization, and while in this we have for the present no active part we are an interested spectator. It may be to the interest of civilization that we again be forced to play a part, but we must observe for the present that there is an evident failure on the part of European nations to agree on any sort of a peace plan because of the evident existence of certain determinative elements on that continent which are actively opposed to peace or disarmament.

#### NAVY'S "MALIGNANT INFLUENCE"

While we are watching the diplomatic wars and turmoils in each continent there are constant cries from a certain class of citizens at home for further reduction of our military forces. Usually—and perhaps with some discretion—the attack is not directed at the Administration, but at

the "malignant influence" of army and navy officers by implying that they are building up by propaganda an immense disturbing military force, and this when we have the smallest per capita standing army in the world, and when we permitted our naval teeth to be pulled at the Washington conference! The suggestion of these misinformed and misguided citizens that the American Navy is gathering momentum or size beyond the desires of the President of the United States, because of influence exercised by naval officers, is not only ridiculous but insidious in its inception.

The Washington Conference for the Limitation of Naval Armaments, inaugurated by President Harding, sacrificed 50 per cent. of America's naval power and prescribed that, in capital ships and aircraft carriers, the signatory powers could not replace such ships beyond a total prescribed tonnage, establishing thereby a limitation of a 5-5-3-1.67-1.67 ratio for the United States, the British Empire, Japan, France and Italy, respectively. After the Washington Treaty President Coolidge stated on Dec. 5, 1923: "For several years we have been decreasing the personnel of the army and navy and reducing their power to the danger point. Further reductions should not be made. \* \* \* Both of these services should be strengthened rather than weakened. \* \* \* We want no more competitive armaments. We want no more war. But we want no weakness that invites imposition. A people who neglect their national defense are putting in jeopardy their national honor."

Our present prosperity is dependent on our foreign trade. If we are to maintain prosperity our foreign policy must continue to be a trade mission, and our trade will require protection. To this mission of protection our navy is detailed by the President through the State Department, and acts in time of peace under the general direction of the latter. The navy is merely one of the instruments of a Government which exists to promote the general welfare of the country. Weaken the navy unduly and we automatically weaken the power of the Government, directed by the President, to promote our general welfare



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Three naval officials who represented the United States at the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1921. From left to right: Rear Admirals William A. Moffett and W. L. Rodgers and Admiral R. E. Koontz

in so far as it is affected by foreign commerce.

#### FOREIGN NAVIES INCREASING

When, in our desire for a secure and prosperous peace, we are confronted by increasing naval armaments abroad, we are forced by foreign policies of other nations to modify our own foreign policy. Since the Washington Treaty the other signatory powers have projected large naval programs for building cruisers, destroyers, submarines and other types of naval vessels not limited as to number by the treaty. Ships projected or actually built since the conference number 13 for the United States, 25 for the British Empire, 96 for Japan, 71 for France, and 43 for Italy; and these figures do not include recent five-year building programs planned by foreign powers. We alone, intent on the strict observance of the spirit of the Washington Treaty, have been left far behind in our naval security.

A recognition of this fact is at last sweeping over the land. A five-year naval

aviation program has been seriously considered and shaped by Congress. Committees in Congress concerned with naval legislation had presented, in open session, the warning that adequate provisions must be made in the near future for replacing our obsolete cruisers, destroyers and submarines and for maintaining the efficiency of our present fleet at its topmost notch.

Such candor concerning the provisions for American national defense is doubly as great a contribution to world peace as membership in international courts or leagues of nations, and is, in addition, a guarantee that this country will not be casually threatened with war. It is armament in secret that makes for international distrust. Candid defensive preparation, such as is contemplated in our navy building program, creates no international uneasiness. Rather it stabilizes this country's relations abroad. It announces that America, as always, looks forward to no conflict of aggression, but is well prepared to defend its sovereignty whenever assailed.





# How Doughboys Are Made at Our Largest School

By ELBRIDGE COLBY

Captain, United States Army, stationed at Fort Benning, Georgia

IN Southwestern Georgia, half way along the Alabama line, there stands Fort Benning, the largest training centre of the United States Army, charged with the infantry instruction of the entire defense forces of the nation. There is located the Infantry School, devoted to teaching the latest methods in post-war tactics and technique to selected personnel of the regular army, the National Guard and the Organized Reserves.

Established in 1919 and expanded in 1920 into a veritable post-graduate institution, this school has instructed more than half of the regular army officers of infantry, and its influence is being felt far and wide in the creation of better regiments and a more perfect instruction technique. Here have come officers of all branches of the army, as well as sergeants from the National Guard. From this school graduates go to staff duty in Washington, to troops all over the country and the overseas possessions, to details at civilian schools and colleges and to headquarters of National Guard and reserve units. Corps area and department commanders, in their annual reports to the War Department, have testified to the great and growing influence of these graduates on efficient training of all components of the Army of the United States.

The purpose is not to train soldiers, for America's military policy is not the maintenance of a huge regular army or the creation of fully trained and enrolled citizens under any sort of compulsory service system. American policy still depends upon the citizen soldier, enrolled like the minute men of Lexington, in local militia units, and called out like the volunteers of the Mexican War and hardened during the early stages of the emergency for the actual combats that will come in the event of war. That was our policy in 1917 and

1918. Consequently, now the purpose of the Infantry School is not to train soldiers, but to train men how to do the training in the most effective and rapid way.

To carry out the work of instruction, there are maintained at Fort Benning a few units of war strength demonstration troops and an academic department manned with expert technicians and officers.

Demonstration troops include a unit of the First Gas Regiment, a crack battalion of the motorized Eighty-third Field Artillery with the latest types of 75-millimeter guns, a battalion of light and heavy tanks and World War veterans organized initially into companies in France and England, a specially skilled company of the Seventh Engineers of the famous Fifth Division, who crossed the Meuse in 1918 in "the finest achievement of arms of the A. E. F.," and two war strength battalions of the Twenty-ninth Infantry, called the "Demonstration Doughboys" because, as their regimental motto says, they "lead the way" in exemplifying the high standards set by the United States for the field proficiency of its armed forces.

These doughboys, who illustrate to student officers the correct functioning of full units at drill and field manoeuvre, make up the only war-strength infantry units of the American Army. For instance, other regiments have merely a single platoon each for work with the one-pounder cannon and the trench mortar, in accordance with the reduced strength, peace tables of organization. But at Benning there is a full war strength Howitzer company operating not merely the one weapon of each type which are found in a platoon, but the full war-time complement. This company enjoys the distinction of having qualified 100 per cent. of its personnel under the rigid marksmanship requirements of the army

regulations. It is commanded by a Captain who is a graduate both of the Infantry School and of the Field Artillery School.

Other companies are assigned special topics in which they are kept at the peak of proficiency. One is charged with staging close order drill in absolutely perfect fashion for the student officers. Another specializes in field firing, and shows students the correct handling of squads, platoons and companies on the firing line, directing the multitude of bullets with uniform distribution over the enemy position. Others are specially training in scouting and patrolling, in exemplifying standards for inspection of uniforms and equipment and in maintaining radio, telephone and visual signal communications amid the roar and confusion of the battlefield.

#### REAL "DEMONSTRATIONS"

Twice a year the troops of the Benning garrison engage in monster demonstrations of actual combat, illustrating the handling of a large infantry unit in battle, supported by other arms, with airplanes overhead, artillery laying its barrages from miles back, gas troops throwing smoke screens, machine guns laying lines of fire across the danger zones. These demonstrations are conducted with real ammunition and everything is just as it would be in battle—except that there is no enemy. To these demonstrations there come large numbers of civilian residents of adjacent cities and States and large numbers of tourists. They are real "demonstrations" and not "sham battles" at all, and are devised to indicate the exact problems and manoeuvres that may occur on the field of battle and the difficulties of maintaining control amid the confusion and noise. They demonstrate correct practice to student officers.

The institution exists for the student officers, who are put through hard training courses. Regular officers from Lieutenants to Colonels come down for eight months' courses. National Guardsmen and reserve officers come for three months' courses. Officers have attended from the Cuban, Chilean and Mexican armies, from the Marine Corps, the Philippine constabulary, and three are ordered there now from the army of the Irish Free State, by a special

diplomatic concession. When Colonels in the United States Army become Brigadiers they are sent to one of the army schools to brush up on detailed tactics, and many of them have taken courses at Fort Benning. These men came to learn the doughboy technique to supplement their experience and knowledge, and other officers of the army are likewise anxious to go to Benning to learn its methods.

Courses of study range from military history to the manipulation of machine guns, from tactical manoeuvres with live ammunition to study of educational technique. Student officers learn the latest methods in military art by absorbing correct principles in lectures and explanations, by observing the correct application of these principles to concrete situations in demonstrations with troops in the field, and by actual practice in applying these principles themselves. They watch rifle squads fire with tracer bullets which send little lines of phosphorus light across the terrain to show tangibly the effect of infantry marksmanship. They observe the exact dispersion of shrapnel and grenade burst on the waters of a specially constructed lake with yardage marked out with stakes in a checkerboard pattern. They participate in extended manoeuvres over the 98,000 acres of the reservation, with all the varieties of tangled woods, gentle and steep hill slopes, open plain and tumbling water courses that any field of campaign may offer. The art of war, says General Foch, is an art wholly of execution. It is a practical art. At the Infantry School those who train and will lead the embattled Americans of the future learn by actual practice the profession to which they have dedicated their lives, the preparation of the defense of the nation in the hours of emergency.

At the Infantry School is also maintained a department of experiment to devise, to study and to test by actual use all new devices of military or civil invention which may be applicable to military needs and purposes. Novel types of machine guns, auto-loading rifles, field telephones and radios, footgear, helmets, transport wagons, reconnaissance automobiles for cross-country work and signaling devices are there subjected to normal service con-



ditions to determine if their adoption would benefit the infantry, the basic and largest arm of the service. Special investigations have been conducted to secure improved types of bayonets, raincoats for campaign use, rolling kitchens to get hot and palatable food forward to the troops, tractors to haul supplies, wire carts for reeling field telephone lines and small trench howitzers to be used in the front lines against hostile machine gun nests. By the efforts of the test officers on duty in this department the infantry branch of the army is kept constantly up to date.

The Infantry School at Fort Benning is also the athletic centre of the army. When President Coolidge offered a challenge cup for the football championship of the military and naval services, Fort Benning was selected as the training centre for the Army eleven. To do what President Coolidge desired should be done, namely, "give the people a true example of sport in its best form," the Washington officials ordered to duty at Fort Benning the best soldier personnel from regimental teams all over the country. This material has been coached and trained at Benning by men specially trained at the Rockne coaching course at Notre Dame. As instructors and teachers this material has some of the most brilliant players in America.

To create an installation worthy of the prestige of the teams assembled at this army post officers and organizations all over the army contributed funds for the erection of a large football stadium and concrete baseball stands. The voluntary contributions purchased the cement and the steel reinforcement. Gravel and sand were dug from the distant corners of the reservation. Labor was performed by troops of the command. The Doughboy Memorial Stadium stands as a remembrance of the heroic soldiers who died in the war. The structure was completed last Fall and dedicated by high army officials on the occasion of a 27-7 football victory by the infantry team over the Oglethorpe University team, champions of the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association. Adjacent to the stadium there was erected a great concrete grand stand about a splendid baseball diamond, and this was named for Harry

Cowdy, famous catcher of the Boston Braves and the New York Giants and the first major leaguer to enlist for the World War.

This athletic activity is partly maintained for recreational purposes and partly in connection with a coaching course in athletic training, adopted to instruct young officers how to train and develop their service teams. For this course there are a huge gymnasium, a polo field, a golf course, tennis courts and a swimming pool, in addition to the football and baseball facilities. With these installations the athletic training and the development of the physique of the soldier keep pace with the high type of combat instruction which distinguishes Fort Benning.

Established during the war, and consisting mainly of "temporary" wooden buildings, Fort Benning has been slowly approaching a more fixed aspect. A few brick buildings have been authorized and built from Congressional appropriations. As the War Department is able to dispose of surplus real estate, it is to be permitted to divert money equal to the proceeds to the erection of barracks for its soldiers. These barracks are to be put up as two-story structures, shaped like the letter U, with a single regiment in each building. At Fort Benning this year two sections of the first of these "quartel" buildings were finished and occupied by two companies of the Twenty-ninth Infantry. Additional funds are now becoming available for the building of some additional sections. The Demonstration Doughboys, stepping from canvas into brick and concrete barracks, say, in the words of their motto, "We Lead the Way."

The entire Infantry School is a leader in training the American Army. In war the infantry furnishes 65 per cent. of the soldiers and suffers 89 per cent. of the casualties. Others prepare the action and support the attack, but the infantryman with his bayonet is the one who goes ahead. The Infantry School takes the lead in the infantry branch of the service, leading in methods of instruction and setting the standards of attainment. It has been honored as such, and has been allowed to adopt as its emblem and motto a bare bayonet and the words "Follow Me."

# The True Story of the Founding of New York City

By H. CH. G. J. VAN DER MANDERE

Dutch historian and publicist

THE development of the Netherlands as a seafaring and trading nation during the seventeenth century and the subsequent founding of the colony which is now New York were really results of the comparatively trifling discovery of a herring curing process made by Willem Beukelzoon of Biervliet about the year 1400. The herring, since it was subject to rapid decay, had previously only been caught in sufficient quantities to supply domestic needs, but preserved by the curing process it became a much sought after commodity and herring fishing assumed the proportions of a national industry. Dutch ships began to go in great numbers to the Mediterranean and the Levant with cargoes of herrings, butter and cheese, bringing back the supplies of salt that were essential for the preparation of these products. Dutch ships went also to Scandinavia and brought back timber and grain from the Baltic, which in turn was carried by Dutchmen to Southern ports, thus gradually earning for them the title of "skippers of the world."

The further course of events is history familiar to all. When the revolt against Spain occurred in the Netherlands it did not, however, immediately result in cessation of trade with Spain. The Dutch navigators, indeed, vehemently opposed the attempts of Leicester, the English Governor-General, to stop commercial intercourse with the enemy. These Dutchmen possessed greater economic prescience than King Philip II of Spain, who ran the risk of famine in order to close his ports to the trade which furnished the Dutch rebels with the money to wage war against him, not foreseeing the benefits to Dutch trade and navigation that such a measure would entail. The Dutch skippers, who went to the Lisbon markets to fetch the Indian spices in order to carry them to the North,

had picked up so much information in their intercourse with the Spanish and Portuguese navigators that they were able eventually to find their way to the New World unaided.

It was while Henry Hudson was navigating in the service of the Dutch East India Company that he discovered the river named after him. The company had taken this Englishman, who had already made two notable voyages to the North, into its service in order to help them seek out a short northwest passage to India. Having navigated the Hudson, he went to England to await further instructions from the company, but while there the English Government forced him to break off his relations with the Dutch. In a subsequent year he sailed out once more in the service of English merchants, discovered the straits and the bay bearing his name and wintered there, but on the return voyage lost his life through the treachery of his crew. In 1610 the Amsterdam merchants, in whose service Hudson had first sailed, sent out another vessel. The samples of fur pelts brought from the New World had stimulated in no small degree the acute mercantile instinct of the Amsterdam people. In sloops and small craft the trading agents of the company visited the various Indian fur depots on the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers in order to barter the glittering knick-knacks and trinkets of Europe for the valuable wares of the redskins. Le Laet, who gives one of the most reliable accounts of the founding of New Netherland, relates that out of every shipload some of the people stayed to barter with the aborigines, and warehouses and storehouses were therefore gradually erected on Manhattan Island for the storing of furs and European merchandise, and homes were built there for the traders.

In 1614 the States General granted to



a company of thirteen Dutch merchants a charter for four expeditions to the country discovered by them and called New Netherland. On the map which they submitted may be seen Fort Nassau on the Hudson, which they had already established. From the beginning the intention existed in this New Netherland Company, later taken over by the West India Company, to establish real permanent settlements in contradistinction to the type first established in the East Indies. Usselinx, the enterprising Antwerp merchant who contributed so much toward the establishing of the West India Company, constantly urged that they should not follow the example of the Spaniards in merely seeking precious metals and treating the natives as slaves, but that a system of barter of manufactured goods for raw materials should be developed and that the natives should be paid a fair wage if they tilled the land. His colonization plans met at first with much opposition on the part of the States General, and not until 1629 was the decision taken which led to the settling of free colonists consisting in part of Dutchmen and in part of other Europeans in New Netherland and the surrounding regions, with a separate Government and an administration which had a certain limited degree of independence.

After the Twelve Years Truce suspending hostilities against Spain had expired, the founding of the West India Company was undertaken in 1621. Our Dutch forefathers who went to America assuredly excelled in industry and perseverance, but the favorable opinion which may be expressed concerning these colonists is in no case applicable to the policy followed by the governors of the West India Company with regard to New Netherland, this policy being extremely short-sighted and in the end actually detrimental to the company. Indeed, the chief purpose of the founding of the West India Company was to damage Spain by conquering her American colonies and seizing the vessels of the Silver Fleet as they returned from that part of the world. Moreover, self-interest actuated to no small degree the members of the various governing bodies. The West India Company was therefore in reality, because of these prevailing motives,

a kind of licensed piratical company, or, if you will, a chartered trading company, which was chiefly mindful of "the spoils of war." The constitution of this company was similar to that of its sister enterprise, the East India Company; in the latter it was a corporation of seventeen that was all powerful, and in the former a body of nineteen held sway, succeeding, however, in keeping the power in their hands for only a comparatively brief period. The West India Company devoted its attention partly to Brazil and other Portuguese and Spanish colonies and partly to New Netherland.

The fact that in the early years of the West India Company the erection of a fort on Manhattan Island formed the basis of the establishment of the Dutch settlement there has never been subject to doubt. The general idea current is that Pieter Minuyt on May 4, 1626, purchased the island from the Indians for 60 guilders, and, in his capacity of Governor of the settlement, undertook the founding of New Amsterdam, the present City of New York. It was, therefore, concluded as a matter of course that the Dutch, by whom Minuyt was sent out and whom he represented, were to be considered the founders of New York. Later the so-called Walloon-American group theory was advanced to the effect that Jesse de Forest, the progenitor of the American family of that name, who with a number of companions left Texel on July 16, 1623, destined for Guiana, arrived at Manhattan in that year after all kinds of vicissitudes and established the first organized colony there. In another quarter it has been maintained that the ship *Nieuw Nederland*, sent out in April, 1624, by the West India Company with thirty families on board, "mostly Walloons," as the chronicler Claes Wassenaer relates, sailed up the Hudson to where Albany now lies, leaving certain colonists behind at Manhattan, who formed the nucleus for the later New Amsterdam.

#### DUTCH ENTERPRISE

From a German quarter the assertion has even been made that Pieter Minuyt, a native of Wezel, although in the service of the West India Company, had retained his German nationality, so that in reality the

honor of the founding of New York was due to Germany. Against the latter pretensions the fact may be at once advanced that it was not Minuyt's enterprising spirit which brought him to Manhattan, but that of his Dutch principals, who provided the means, the ship and the colonists indispensable for the founding of New Amsterdam. The same applies to the assertion of the Walloon group, assuming it to be true, for the Walloons did not go to New Netherland on their own initiative, but established themselves there in consequence of the initiative of the West India Company.

The West India Company left behind badly arranged and somewhat meagre archives, so that the facts regarding the founding of New York, which at the time was considered relatively of little importance, are few and uncertain, and much of our evidence must be founded on deduction and supposition. For example, from the minutes of the meeting of the nineteen Governors on Nov. 3, 1623, we learn that Captain Adriaen Jorisz Thienpont appeared in their midst with the communication that there were colonists still in Virginia who were begging to be brought back to Holland. From this we can assume that there must have been some sort of settlement in existence at that time. Moreover, from the register of the Amsterdam vestry comes the information that Bastiaen Janszoon Crol, described as comforter or visitor of the sick, was sent out to New Netherland on Jan. 25, 1624, and this naturally meant that there were inhabitants in New Netherland who needed him. Shortly after this date the ship *Nieuw Nederland* sailed, the captain being Cornelis Jacobszoon of Hoorn, who in 1624 was appointed by Wassenaer as first Governor of New Netherland. This ship sailed up the river and left its passengers to build Fort Orange, the site of the City of Albany.

The important question is not when groups of colonists were first sent out to New Netherland or whether and how these persons settled on the island of Manhattan, but when and by whom the first initiative was taken for the permanent settlement on Manhattan out of which grew New Amsterdam and later New York. The answer to this question may be found in documents forming part of a private collection owned

by A. C. P. G. Ridder van Rappard, which were sold to America in 1910 and first published only a short time ago by the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, Cal. A Dutch scholar of note, Dr. F. C. Wieder, who has accomplished such splendid work with regard to establishing the claims of Holland in Spitzbergen, was the original discoverer of these documents. Mr. van Rappard, who had been living for several years in a castle in the Province of Utrecht, sold in Amsterdam certain papers which he had found by chance and the value of which was unknown to him. Among them were important documents relating to New Netherland, including the document which may be termed the birth certificate of the City of New York. John Anderson Jr. of New York, and a London firm representing I. M. Philips Stokes, who was then making the first plans for his *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, competed for the possession of these documents, which finally went to the New York bidder. Dr. Wieder made every possible effort to discover how the documents came into the possession of the van Rappard family in order to establish their authenticity, because in the valise in which they were found there were also papers relating to Dutch enterprises in Guiana, Senegal, Japan and Amboyna, all, seemingly, of the first half of the seventeenth century. Some were original papers and others, including the New Netherland documents, were copies. Investigations made among catalogues of sales of manuscripts during the nineteenth century in Utrecht furnished traces leading to a certain Buchelius, shareholder in the West India Company, and to Samuel Blommaert, director of the company. The latter, after having resigned his office of Secretary in New Netherland, had kept himself informed concerning the situation there through the well-known Isaac de Rassiere. It is therefore conjectured that the copies of documents which came into the possession of Mr. van Rappard had originally belonged to him.

#### VERHULST THE FIRST GOVERNOR

What can now be definitely established by means of these documents with regard to the founding and the founders of New York? The *Nieuw Nederland*, the vessel



already mentioned as carrying Walloons to the colony, was sent out in 1624 to fetch back the colonists, of whom Captain Thienpont had spoken as begging to be taken back to Holland. With the *Nieuw Nederland* there sailed for the first time, as an ordinary passenger, Willem Verhulst, who, according to later documents of the West India Company, was termed clerk during the voyage and appointed to act as director of the colonists on his arrival in New Netherland. Apparently he did not stay long on his first visit. In January, 1625, he was sent out once more from Holland to America, under instructions from the "Nineteen," to exercise the office of Governor. He was instructed to explore the country and the soil, to map it out and to erect forts for defense at suitable points. Verhulst, who in these instructions is also variously termed Van der Hulst and Van Hulst, was left free to seek a better site for establishing a fort than that already existing on Nut Island (the present Governors Island). This he found on the Island of Manhattan.

Of special interest are the "further instructions" given by the "Nineteen" to the sub-clerk, Gerrit Fongersz, who sailed in the bark *Macreel* when it departed for Manhattan accompanied by three other craft, carrying the engineer Cryn Fredericxsz and a number of ordinary laborers, who took with them a plan for the fort to be erected on Manhattan, for which the name of Amsterdam had already been chosen. That the "Nineteen" were fairly well informed as regards local conditions is evidenced by the accurate and detailed instructions they issued. The *Macreel* and the three other ships sailed on April 22, 1625. Assuming that the voyage was made in a period of about six weeks, and that the ships encountered some delay at Nut Island, where the cattle had to be landed, the settlers would have arrived at Manhattan about June, 1625, and taken in hand the task of building the fort—that is, of founding what was afterward to become New York.

Verhulst remained Governor of the colony for but a brief period. He was replaced in 1625 by Pieter Minuyt, who had accompanied Verhulst as a volunteer and who succeeded him when constant bad con-

duct rendered it impossible to retain him longer in office. Thus Minuyt, who had arrived in May, 1626, at Manhattan, became Director General and obtained control of the settlement, the building of which had then been going on for more than a year. Although it is an established fact that he bought the island from the Indians soon after he took this office, that did not make Minuyt the founder of New York.

The question then arises as to what became of the Walloon families, who had sailed with the *Nieuw Nederland* to America in 1624. The best deduction from the evidence is that they sailed up the Hudson and landed further up than the Island of Manhattan. The supposition that some of these Walloon families were put ashore at Manhattan seemed an improbable one, but could not, for a long time, be satisfactorily disposed of. Lately, however, Professor Eckhof, who has done much valuable research work in connection with the founding of Plymouth colony, found an official document relating to the transportation of colonists by the *Nieuw Nederland*. This document, which was discovered in the notarial archives in Amsterdam among a mass of unimportant papers, shows that Willem Verhulst sailed with a party of colonists to New Netherland, that they proceeded for forty miles up the Hudson, and that not until then were the various families landed. It is thus clear that the Walloon families, who in 1624 voyaged out in the *Nieuw Nederland*, did not participate in the founding of the settlement on Manhattan, although it is not therefore disproved that some of them eventually settled there, perhaps even soon after Verhulst had started building the fort at New Amsterdam.

#### THE ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT

Although the material bearing upon the founding of New York can even now hardly be termed abundant, it is nevertheless sufficiently complete to arrive at some fairly accurate conclusions. The documents formerly in the possession of Mr. van Rappard, for example, give the names of the real founders of New York, among them being Willem Verhulst, clerk; Gerrit Fongersz, sub-clerk; Gerrit Isbrantsz, skip-

per of the Macreel; Adriaen Jorisz Thienpont, Joost van den Boogaert, Daniel van Cryekenbeeck, Pieter Minuyt, Cryn Fredericxsz, Johan Lampo, colonist, and Cranchoys Fezard, all members of the General Council after the selection of the site for settlement, and also Walich Jacobsz, Jacob Lourensz, Mattheus de Reus, Wolfaert Geritsz and Jan Ides, the five master builders, and Jacob Lourensz Bool, smith. Furthermore, Dr. Wieder has succeeded in establishing the exact manner in which the plans for the fort of New Amsterdam were carried out and how Cryn Fredericxsz executed his plans. He also describes the general plan of the settlement; the five houses on the site of 2 and 4 Stone Street, 19 and 21 Bridge Street and 33 Pearl Street, which was possibly the office of the company; the laying out of Pearl Street and Whitehall Street and the ditches, which are now Beaver and Broad Streets, as part of a pentagonal fort; the road which took the course of present-day Broadway, Park Row, Bowery and Fourth Avenue, to approximately East Fourteenth Street; six farms lying between the Bowery, Fourth Avenue and the East River, from about Chatham Square to East Twenty-second Street, and the garden of the company between Broadway and the Hudson. "Behold," says Dr. Wieder, "the beginning of the City of New York."

Yet another matter cleared up by these documents is the original form of government of New Amsterdam. The West India Company was, as governing body, sovereign under the States General, and the colonists were obliged to swear allegiance to both. As with all the legislation of that period there existed side by side with the written law a collection of laws of custom, codified only in part. The ordinances forming the basis of the Dutch Civil Code were introduced into New Netherland by the company. In addition, as much of the law of custom was compiled as was considered necessary and desirable for the new community from the point of view of both the company and the emigrants.

The "sovereign rights," and the maritime and commercial law were patterned closely after the Dutch model. The population was divided into various categories, there being free persons, colonists, families, master-builders, foremen, laborers, house and land folk, farm laborers, farmers' maids, boys, persons in the private service of the company, ships' crews, the troops and the Indians. Each of these categories was further defined and had its own place in the scheme of development of the new colony.

The documents also throw light on the administration of the laws. We learn that the colonists were contract bound, under various conditions which appreciably limited their liberty, so that their position was indeed not unlike that of subjects under the feudal system. They had to sell to the company the beaver skins they acquired at the price paid by the company to the Indians. They were required to sow certain crops. They could engage in no handicraft connected with trade, such as dyeing or weaving. Of the cattle, which the company gave them and which grazed on the latter's land, they had always to keep the first calf for a year and then hand it over to the company; the second could be kept by the colonist, the third handed over to the company, and so on. The builders' laborers working on the buildings of the company had to pay tithes to the commander and the master-builders. Even in their own homes these laborers were not their own masters, for the lofts were owned by the company and the Clerk had free access thereto. No wonder that there speedily arose a demand for greater liberty and that the States General had to grant, little by little, independence to New Amsterdam and New Netherland.

Thus we have new evidence of the bonds uniting Holland and America. It is all the more interesting that, in the course of the year in which New York commemorates the tercentenary of its founding, it has been proved by authentic documents that the original New Amsterdam was quite as Dutch as has been assumed from its name.



# Organized Labor's Volteface on Trusts

By MATTHEW WOLL

Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the  
Photo-Engravers' Union

AMERICAN organized labor has undergone a complete change of opinion in regard to the desirability of great industrial combinations since the period centring around 1896, when labor joined with its full strength in support of the Sherman anti-trust act. In that period the American people were beginning to feel the effects of great combinations in the business and manufacturing world. Trusts were in their most predatory period. Their conduct was of such a character as to beget the most serious apprehension. Wage earners were not alone in their fears as to what might be the result of a continued centralization of industrial power. That period is easily and clearly marked apart as an era in the development of American industrial life. Trusts continued to grow and vociferous trust-busting continued to be exceedingly popular, though exceedingly ineffective. Instead of accepting defeat and returning to the individual competitive ways of their forefathers the new group of industrial magnates continued to merge and pool their interests in ever-growing and rapidly accumulating combinations.

It was not so easy to recognize at that time that industry was undergoing an evolutionary process in response to natural and fundamental laws. The strength of these laws is best illustrated by the development itself. The whole ponderous legal machinery of the nation moved to dissolve trust after trust, but each in its turn emerged from the conflict either with strength unimpaired or with strength and resources vastly increased. Standard Oil is, of course, the classical example, but the truth is equally well demonstrated in the case of half a dozen other combinations, including the United States Steel Corporation, the packing interests, the har-

vester interests and the United Shoe Machinery Company.

Although at the outset labor favored the curbing of trusts by legislative measures and almost approached the Populist point of view in its vociferous hostility to combinations of capital, by 1899 its attitude had changed so that, without favoring the formation of trusts, it nevertheless vigorously opposed anti-trust legislation. If labor feared the trusts, it feared legislation more. It preferred the evil to the proposed remedy and demanded "full freedom to use its own natural weapons" in "the natural evolutionary way." The reason for this change of attitude is found in the fact that the Sherman law was used with considerable effect to prosecute not only the combinations of capital, but the organizations of labor as "monopolies in restraint of trade." In the course of a decade of prosecutions of labor organizations, there were such notable cases as that of *Loewe vs. The United States Hatters and Post vs. The American Federation of Labor*. Another case which labor still remembers is that of seventy-five workers in New Orleans who were indicted under the Sherman act because they went on strike in sympathy with other workmen.

The policy of prosecuting labor organizations as combinations in restraint of trade led labor first of all to attempt to secure a definition in law differentiating between the labor power of a human being and the commodity produced as a result of the use of that labor power. The climax of this effort was the enactment of the Clayton act, which set up this distinction and gave to labor other safeguards against the injunction and against commitment in contempt by a judge without jury trial. The advantages which labor believed it had secured in the Clayton act

were practically all speedily and almost summarily swept aside by the United States Supreme Court. This strengthened labor's hostility to the whole structure of anti-combination and anti-conspiracy laws and undoubtedly led to a more rapid development and formulation of the philosophy upon which its present position is based.

#### "LEGISLATIVE MONSTROSITY"

In its convention at Portland, Ore., in October, 1923, the American Federation of Labor again denounced the Sherman anti-trust law as a "legislative monstrosity," but with a new background and for newly stated reasons. The present position of the trade union movement is that not only should the Sherman anti-trust law be repealed, but that there should be a repeal of the whole structure of anti-combination and anti-conspiracy laws. All these laws are the products of a former time when almost the whole national outlook was one of fear and suspicion and when we had not yet come to accept as logical, inevitable and beneficent that large-scale cooperation which makes modern industry so effective in production and without which the full use of modern invention, modern management and modern power development would be impossible. It must not be understood, however, that labor is in favor of a wide open road for the formation of trusts, combinations and mergers to an unlimited extent without requiring some counterbalance which will safeguard the interests not only of wage earners but of the consuming public and of the nation as a nation. Without check of some kind great combinations of capital would speedily become so ruthless in the use of unprecedented autocratic power as possibly to endanger our whole social structure. That check, democratically applied, labor now proposes.

It is the more or less blind fear of the consequences of unchecked industrial absolutism that has led to the creation of a multiplicity of boards and commissions by the State for the purpose of regulating the conduct of business and industry. This is merely another way of saying that the State has sought by these means to curb the power and authority of industrial magnates who, if not curbed in some manner, might

soon become powerful enough to challenge the power of the State and place the entire citizenship in a relationship more or less comparable to the old-time vassalage. Here again, however, labor is convinced of the futility of political effort. This is not because labor doubts the power of the State to regulate, but because labor is convinced that the State can regulate only partially and that for very fundamental and insurmountable reasons the State must regulate unwisely, blunderingly and often with results that are nearly, if not entirely, disastrous.

Labor has still another reason for being hostile to the regulation of industry by the State. In the first place there can be no effective regulation by the State without the power to punish. The power to punish in this instance must mean the power to compel the relationships of men and institutions to conform to regulations laid down. Once we accept this power of compulsory regulation of conduct we begin to travel a pathway which has no ending and which will be strewn with signboards admonishing all that "thou shalt not," leaving at the end but a remnant of that freedom of action which political democracy was established specifically to foster and protect. Ultimately that could lead to no end except revolution against the whole structure of the State and a quite probable lapse in a chaos which surely cannot be contemplated with equanimity.

Labor is particularly concerned for the protection of the political State. Its permanency as a democratic institution is vital. It is a curious thing, but nevertheless true, that the present democratic political State cannot assume an overlordship of industry without losing the great essentials of democracy and without taking on more and more the character of bureaucracy and the functions of bureaucracy, to become inevitably and finally little more than a thinly veiled dictatorship, which some would call a condition of State socialism and which others would call State capitalism and which would be equally repugnant under either designation.

It will be seen that labor has not changed its attitude toward trusts because of any superficial reasoning, but that in reversing





Harris &amp; Ewing

## MATTHEW WOLL

its position on the whole question of combinations of industrial resources it has done so on the basis of philosophy which has grown out of the changing character of our institutions and which is remarkable, thorough and comprehensive. As a matter of fact, the philosophy of the American trade union movement is as striking and remarkable in the present day as was the philosophy of Karl Marx at the time of its presentation by that dramatic though erratic and unsound propagandist. This modern philosophy of labor, as surely the growth of our soil as anything ever can be, was set forth with clearness and completeness in a declaration adopted by the American Federation of Labor in the Portland convention already referred to. It was in that declaration that denunciation of the Sherman law appeared for the first time as something more than a defensive action and was related definitely and specifically to a fundamental philosophy of democratic control of industry through its own channels of machinery, as will be seen from the following:

"It is a combination of industry's own

neglect and of Government's efforts to function where industry for the moment fails or seems to fail that gives us a growing number of boards, commissions and tribunals to add their weight to the burden of industry. Industry, organized as we urge it must be organized, will begin in truth an era of service, rational, natural development and productivity unmatched by past achievement or fancy. It is not the mission of industrial groups to clash and struggle against each other. Such struggles are the signs and signals of dawning comprehension, the birth pangs of an industrial order attempting through painful experience to find itself and to discover its proper functioning. The true rôle of industrial groups, however, is to come together, to legislate in peace, to find the way forward in collaboration, to give of their best for the satisfaction of human needs. There must come to industry the orderly functioning that we have been able to develop in our political life. We must find the way to the development of an industrial franchise comparable to our political franchise. There must be developed a sense of responsibility and justice and orderliness. Labor stands ready for participation in this tremendous development."

Labor's hostility to a growing machinery for State regulation and control of industry is based upon a hostility to bureaucratic control of any character, but it should be pointed out emphatically that this opposition is based fully as much upon labor's belief that the State is actually incompetent to regulate the conduct of industry because of the very nature of the structure of political government and the very conflicting nature of the structure of modern industry. Labor holds that industry must within itself, and by its own efforts, as well as with the encouragement of the State, build up its own structure of government by democratic processes, so that intelligence may rule in the place of ignorance, partisan bias and the thirst for power which are the inevitable accompaniments of power. To enable this growth of self-government in industry, something more is necessary than the determination of industry to have that self-government. It is necessary to clear away the network of unwise and unworkable

laws which the State has brought into being in its efforts to take over the functions of regulation and more or less bureaucratic domination of industry.

It was with that object in mind that the last convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a declaration of historic importance. Attention was called to the manner in which the constructive activities of industry are "hampered by legislative judicial rulings and interpretations which attempt to limit or restrict helpful cooperation between the essential elements within industry and without which cooperation there cannot be the necessary avoidance of economic waste and full opportunity for industrial development based upon scientific production plans." Labor then called upon Congress for the modification of these restrictive laws and for endorsement of "the principle of thorough organization of all elements in production" and for the principle of "uniform and public accounting at stated periods, of a type to be prescribed by the Department of Commerce in cooperation with the organizations of employers and employes," the Department of Commerce to "render its good services in guiding developments." Then followed what is undoubtedly the most important action so far taken by labor on this question. The Secretary of Commerce was

asked to call a national conference of representatives of trade associations, trade unions and labor organizations "to consider the elimination of difficulties preventing constructive organization of industries."

To interpret the language of labor so that its meaning may be put in a more unmistakable manner, it is the clear intention that in this way there should be united the forces of labor, employers and farmers in support of an industrial philosophy which labor believes to be fundamentally American and fundamentally democratic—a philosophy which must lead to the end of political bureaucracy in the affairs of industry; a restoration of democratic political government to its proper sphere. This carries with it the greatest possible guarantee of purity and permanence for political government and the building up within industry of a great mechanism of democratic self-control which must eventually give to America complete democracy instead of that democracy which has resulted in so much maladjustment and so much of strife and discord. Labor is committed to this program because it sees relief in no other direction and because it is committed heart and soul to the doctrines of human freedom and of voluntary cooperation in adjusting the affairs of life to meet human requirements.

## The Ebb and Flow of American Labor Unionism

By BENJAMIN P. CHASS

Writer on economics and social problems

THE typical American worker is not a "union man." The average wage earner in this country does not believe in organization. He has as yet failed to come to the realization that organization means power. He still believes that he has as much chance as any one else, be it his superintendent or even his employer, of some day rising to the top of the ladder. Meanwhile he disregards the union organizer. Especially is this attitude true of the

native-born American. That the foreign-born worker is far more apt to join a labor organization can be seen from the fact that the most powerful labor unions in this country are found in those industries wherein most of the workers are of foreign birth, as in the case of the needle trade industries.

The National Bureau of Economic Research, in an exhaustive study of the growth of trade unions during the ten-year



period from 1910 to 1920, points out that "the rate of growth was approximately the same, whether the membership is compared with the industrial wage-earning population of the country or with the combined industrial and agricultural wage-earning population." The investigation shows that the industrial wage-earning population of the United States doubled the size of its labor organizations between 1910 and 1920. Of the 20,080,689 wage earners in 1920, 4,881,200, or 18.7 per cent., were trade union members, whereas in 1910 only 9.4 per cent., or 2,101,502 out of 22,406,714 workers, were unionized. If agricultural workers be excluded from the bureau's calculation, then the total percentage of wage earners organized would be 20.8 in 1920 and 10.9 in 1910.

A hundred per cent. increase in ten years is indeed a remarkable and progressive gain for the wage earners of this country, but comparison shows that in Germany and Great Britain 40 per cent. of the workers are organized as against the 20 per cent. unionized in the United States. Even this figure must be revised in the light of the trade union membership for 1924. In 1920 the American Federation of Labor reached its zenith with a membership of 4,078,740, whereas in 1924 only 2,865,979 members were reported, a drop of 1,152,772 in four years. Hence in 1924 we find that 14 per cent. of the American workers were organized instead of the 20 per cent. reported by the bureau in 1920. Thus, in the fourteen years from 1910 to 1924 there was a gain of but 4 to 5 per cent. in the membership of the trade unions in this country.

In 1897 nearly 40 per cent. of the total membership of American trade unions was claimed by organizations outside the American Federation of Labor. In 1923 the independent unions had in their fold only 19 per cent., the larger number being within the conservative Railroad Brotherhood organizations, the present membership of which is approximately 435,177, while only a comparatively small number were in the organizations of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, whose members in 1923 numbered 135,000 and 15,000 respectively.

Aside from the foregoing labor organizations, there remain the Industrial Workers of the World, with a membership of about 41,000, and the Trade Union Educational League, with William Z. Foster as the guiding hand. This last-named organization, however, is not an independent or a dual labor organization, but is what its name implies—a Trade Union Educational League, whose aim is the amalgamation of the workers into industrial unions instead of into craft unions, as is now the method of most labor movements in this country. Both the I. W. W. and the T. U. E. L. aim to abolish the present capitalist system of society and, though they differ in tactics, both are looking forward to a "workers' government. However, for the present, the T. U. E. L. is interested solely in spreading propaganda for the amalgamation of the workers into industrial unions. Railroad workers, for example, instead of being organized into five or six different craft unions, would all belong to one union which would include all the workers in that industry. The A. F. of L. and the majority of the independent unions are strongly opposed to this idea and would not hesitate to expel from the organization any member who was an active worker for the T. U. E. L. In fact, many members have already been dropped for this reason. The T. U. E. L. workers, however, are of such a radical and militant calibre that it would not be surprising if they succeeded in converting more and more workers to their idea of amalgamation.

In recent years various forms of arbitration have been devised and tried in the attempt to bring capital and labor closer together. In 1921 the packing industry established what was known as "employee representation." The national and workers' unions had had no voice whatever in shaping the policies of the "Big Five" packers. Instead, the company union had ruled supreme in case of any dispute between employer and employee. The new system of settling labor disputes was for a time heralded as a panacea for labor troubles. The press agents for the packers did their best to convince the public and the workers that all was well, and it was announced that the workers had actually agreed to a wage

cut which the packers demanded. Suddenly the tide turned. A strike was called by the labor unions and the records of that strike are known to all who are interested in this great economic question. As many as 90 per cent. of the packing employes went on strike in answer to the call of the labor union.

Almost the same situation occurred in another strike—that of the workers of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Here also there supposedly was “employee representation.” John D. Rockefeller Jr. was the first to inaugurate this system of settling labor disputes, and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company was among the first to give his scheme a trial.

### THE INDUSTRIAL COURT

A previous scheme was Governor Allen’s Industrial Court in Kansas. Here was a system that was indeed something new in the realm of settling disputes between capital and labor. Governor Allen said of the Kansas Industrial Court that it would do away with strikes entirely. It was not a board of arbitration, but rather a “court of justice for the adjudication of labor disputes,” over which ruled three “impartial” judges appointed by the Governor. These three judges did not represent either capital or labor, but the “public,” and they declared all strikes by labor to be illegal.

For a time it looked as if many other States would join Kansas in the setting up of such a court to settle labor disputes. But the strikes that followed in Kansas despite the court’s decision soon dispelled all hope that the example would be followed. It will be recalled that Alexander Howat, then at the head of the Miners’ Union, who defied the court, was jailed for calling a strike of the coal miners. Finally troops had to be called out to quell the disorder rife in the State. Today, the Kansas Industrial Court functions no more. It must be conceded, however, that for a time Governor Allen’s court was successful in making a great appeal all over the country. But the failure of Governor Allen’s court did not keep others from trying to do away with strikes and to destroy the power of labor unions in general. For years the far-sighted employers had been preaching

to those less discerning to stop their drives against unions and to plan instead some means of cooperating with their workers. As time went on the latter saw that it was impossible to drive or coerce workers who could read, write and vote.

John D. Rockefeller Jr. was the first big employer of labor to introduce this permanent experiment of dealing with employes directly, instead of through the medium of a labor union. Since 1915, when Mr. Rockefeller started his experiment in “works councils” or “employee representation,” over 800 such councils have come into being. Though over a million workers are now represented by such works councils, this method of employee representation is almost non-existent in the smaller industrial establishments, as almost two-thirds of the 1,177,000 employes who are governed by such councils are grouped in eleven industrial establishments employing 15,000 or more persons, and over one-tenth more are in nine establishments employing from 10,000 to 15,000 workers. In plants employing less than 200 men, these councils are comparatively scarce. The reason for this is not far to seek. In small establishments the personal contact between worker and employer makes such councils almost unnecessary, whereas in the larger establishments such contact is apt to be very slight, if it exists at all. Whereas in 1919 only 225 such councils were in operation, this number rose to 725 in 1922 and 814 in 1924; the membership increased from 391,000 in 1919 to 690,000 in 1922 and to 1,177,000 in 1924, according to the National Industrial Conference Board.

A number of employers who at one time operated such councils have discontinued them for one reason or another. Thirty-five of them who once operated 50 councils ascribe the breaking up of one-third of them to the business depression of 1920-21, which so reduced the number of employes as to make the councils useless. Another third were abandoned because of lack of interest, due among other causes to the closer relations between employer and employee, which made such councils really unnecessary. Of the remaining third, about one-half disintegrated because of internal friction. There is probably



another and more fundamental cause for the failure of employe representation. This is the discontent and disapproval of the workers themselves. It must be remembered that wherever these councils were or are in operation they were started by the initiative of the employer. The worker may desire to belong to a labor organization, but these councils, created by the employer, deprive the worker of the right to join a union. The instincts of freedom and independence are inherent in every man, and are part of the tradition of this country. The labor union is something which the worker feels is his right, and which he consequently cherishes. When the worker is thus deprived of his liberty he often rebels. This may be one of the strongest reasons for the failure and discontinuance of many of these councils.

#### STRIKES STILL PERSIST

Furthermore, the facts show that not all the councils that are in operation have been successful. Although the officials of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company claimed that there has been no strike since 1915, when this plan was introduced, an investigation of this company begun in 1919 by the Russell Sage Foundation reported after five years of careful study that there have been no fewer than three strikes since 1915.

Mr. Rockefeller has called this representation plan of his "a comprehensive industrial constitution" and a "republic of labor." He sees in it "a medium through which the always changing conditions of industry may be from time to time more closely adapted to the needs, the desires and the aspirations of men." On the other hand, the officials of the American Federation of Labor have time and again indicted such plans. This labor organization sees in such plans nothing more than "a delusion and a snare set up by the companies for the express purpose of deluding the workers into the belief that they have some protection and that therefore they have no need for trade-union organization."

Mr. Rockefeller insists that his employes approve of the "company-union" system as applied in the mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, while, according to Feliz Pogliano, Secretary-Treasurer of District No. 15, United Mine Workers of America, the workers are almost wholly against the Rockefeller plan.

A few statements from the report of the workings of these councils issued by the Russell Sage Foundation will give us some insight into the success or failure of these councils:

That the "employes' representatives" are men who work in the mines and who do not feel free to act in opposition to the company's interest in defense of fellow-employes; that employes are not making full use of the plan even for the presentation of grievances; that in actual practice the employes' representatives have no share in decisions concerning reported grievances.

That the issue of trade unionism versus employe representation is kept constantly alive by the company's refusal to permit union meetings in any building in the camps owned by the company (and all are owned by the company), by other frequent instances of antagonism to unions, and by the company's policy of accepting the wage scale of its competitors which has actually been set by the unionized companies through negotiations with the United Mine Workers of America while refusing to deal in any way with the miners' union.

In general, the Foundation does not share the fervent optimism of the sponsors of employe representation. Thus far, this system, like the Kansas Industrial Court, has failed to abolish labor disputes or satisfactorily to settle the grievances of the workers in industry. However, the trend seems to be more and more toward such systems of settling labor disputes and abolishing industrial war. It is a fact that employers are bidding heavily against the unions for the allegiance of wage earners. Whether or not the American wage earner can be won over to the employer's system of employe representation and be driven away from participation in any trade union organization is yet to be seen. At present it is too early to judge fairly and fully.

# The Rising Cost of American Education

By CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING

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DO the American people know that in a generation, from 1890 to 1920, the annual cost of education which they gave in their elementary and secondary schools rose from a little less than \$150,000,000 to more than \$1,000,000,000? With this sevenfold increase in expenditure the increase in pupils was twofold. In the preceding score of years, from 1870 to 1890, the cost of education rose fourfold, the number of pupils advanced only 5 per cent. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 the cost of education for each inhabitant of the United States rose from \$4.62 to \$9.90. In a more recent period, 1913-1923, the cost of public education rose from \$521,000,000 to \$1,580,000,000. In the three decades from 1890 to 1920 the sum paid to teachers in annual salaries leaped from less than \$100,000,000 to almost \$450,000,000. A representative city like Akron, Ohio, had a school budget in 1913 calling for \$454,000, and in 1923 for \$2,500,000; another representative city of a different type, Denver, required for the year 1912-1913 about \$1,300,000, and in 1922 almost \$3,500,000. At the present day the needs of the schools of the United States demand the colossal sum of \$3,000,000,000 for immediate expenditure for school buildings, or about one-seventh of the national debt. Many more facts could be adduced to illustrate the rise of educational costs in every State and in many cities, but those set forth suffice to indicate one of the greatest of all the problems confronting the nation's taxpayers.

The causes of this vast increase in the cost of education are far more interesting to the student of educational and other social conditions than are the facts of the increase themselves. After allowing for the fact that purchasing value of the dollar has been diminished by about one-third in the last ten years, nine specific causes may be set forth:

(1) The first element that has brought

about the increase is the much larger number of pupils found in the schools. In the year 1890 in the elementary and secondary public schools, 12,722,581 children were enrolled. In 1920 this number had increased to 21,578,316. The increase in students in the universities and colleges was proportionately far greater, from 65,274 to 341,082. High schools, which are more expensive to carry on, gained more than the elementary schools.

(2) The increase in the number of students involves a corresponding increase in the number of teachers and a consequent enlargement of the salary budget. School boards and superintendents, however, try to deal with the increased number of pupils each new year with the teaching staff of the year preceding. Whereas pupils in the period from 1890 to 1920 increased from 12,722,581 to 21,578,316, the number of teachers grew from 363,922 to 679,533.

(3) The enlargement of the course of study is another cause of increased expenditure. In 1890 the course of study in the American high school regularly consisted of these subjects: Latin, Greek, French, German, algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry and general history. In the lower schools the course was quite as fundamental and regular: Reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography and grammar. Thirty years have passed and many additions have been made. At the present time the high school is not giving one consistent course, but several courses which are more or less inconsistent. In one of the best representative schools, for instance, there are to be found courses bearing these names: Academic, general, college preparatory, technical, commercial, industrial for boys and industrial for girls. In none of these courses is Greek mentioned. That historic subject has, in fact, been entirely or quite generally cast out of the public high schools. Such courses are substituted as woodworking, with drawing,



machine-shop practice, pattern-making, foundry work, bookkeeping, typewriting, stenography, economics, commercial law, salesmanship, secretarial work, dress-making and millinery, with drawing, arts and crafts. Likewise in the elementary schools of a representative city the six fundamental subjects have been enlarged to include besides arithmetic, algebra and geometry, English grammar, composition and literature, nature study, history, Latin, physiology and hygiene, physical education, music, art, manual training, home economics, current events, thrift and citizenship. Many of these subjects require an equipment far greater and more complex than simple linguistic or mathematical teaching.

(4) A further element of cost is created by the better buildings. The schools of today have far more adequate houses than had the earlier, or even quite recent, schools. Schoolhouses are more strongly built, and are far more completely furnished for educational purposes and for health, safety and comfort. The enlarged estimates necessary in the building, equipment and maintenance of the modern home are simply repeated in the establishment of public schools.

(5) Educational administration now costs more on account of the increased number of pupils, and also because of the enlargement of the curriculum. The administrative staffs tend to outrun the increase in the number of students and teachers. The school simply copies the industrial plant in creating new positions for supervisors, assistant superintendents, assistant principals, librarians, secretaries and accountants. The salary, too, attached to each executive office seems to demand special additions.

(6) The enlarged and more complex school systems require a series of intellectual tests which indicate the progress the student is making, or failing to make, and which measure his fitness to advance from grade to grade, or to proceed to a higher school. Many detailed reports are demanded from each teacher and from the whole body of teachers regarding the progress of each class and of each member of each class, and in each study. These reports finally find their way into the cen-

tral office, where they are discussed, compared, weighed, and made the basis of educational inferences and judgments touching present duties and future progress and procedure. With such testings and reportings there is often linked a bureau of educational research. All this necessitates, directly or indirectly, additions of many thousand dollars to school budgets.

(7) Pension systems for teachers have been established by many cities and several States. In Massachusetts, for example, the teachers' retirement fund at the end of ten years amounted to more than \$6,000,000. With the close of 1923 retiring allowances aggregating \$315,000 were paid to 608 teachers.

(8) The extension of the civil and social functions of the public school is another new factor in expenditure. The individual schoolhouse has become a centre for its neighborhood. Societies of all kinds meet there in the evening or the late afternoon. Classes of many sorts of study assemble. Extension courses, university or other, are associated with its teachings and its teachers. Immigration, or Americanization, classes come to its hall for lectures.

(9) To the foregoing may be added a cause of a quite comprehensive character. It lies in the general lifting of the whole plane of service, of material construction, of the variety of forces performing public functions which result in the increase of the whole order of expense. This condition is general. It belongs to the whole life of the community, a life which is passing from simplicity to complexity, from complexity to a certain degree of what would once have been called luxury. It belongs to the home, to the factory, to the shop, to the store, to the Church. It belongs no less to the schools and colleges. The general scale of expenditure affects the scale of expenditure in public education.

These nine causes may be generally summed up in one word—"enlargement," or, perhaps, "intensification." The function of the people's education has become vastly enlarged. More boys and girls have to be educated by a greater number of teachers, in a greater variety of subjects, in more wholesome houses, under more

beautiful conditions, through more competent administration, with a clearer understanding of methods, forces and results. Such is the most comprehensive reason for the increased cost of public education.

Not the least interesting aspect of the subject is the actual student for which so much money is expended. The student material of the American school has become most diverse in origin, and consequently most diverse in nature and required nurture. Formerly homogeneous in racial origin and in social environment, the children we educate are now of all sorts and conditions. In certain schools in Cleveland, for example, the children from non-English-speaking homes outnumber those coming from English-speaking homes. The children of the non-English-speaking homes of a single building number fifty different nationalities, and often in a single classroom are found boys and girls of no less than a dozen different national origins. In the Eagle School, for instance, there were enrolled in a recent year 26 English children, 89 Syrian, 116 Slovak, 23 Albanian and 288 Italian. In the Tremont School there were registered 276 English, 266 Slovak, 443 Russian and 483 Polish children. Assuming that no racial or religious prejudices exist against the foreigner in American schools and social life, it is yet to be said that these foreign origins and environments do carry along evidences of the fundamental difficulties of giving, or of getting, the best education, an education representing the noblest forces and elements of American life, character and service. These origins and environments immediately give a definite basis for judging the difficulty of getting a proper result from the high and higher cost of elementary education.

Several important questions arise as to the adequacy of the result of the increased cost of education. They may be summarized as follows: (1) Does education help the pupil to know the past out of which he has come? (2) Does education help him to know the world of nature which surrounds him and which serves somewhat to make him what he is? (3) Does education help him to know his own age and conditions which are determining him, and which he is a factor in determin-

ing? (4) Does education help him to know literature, the supreme product of the past, and the wisest interpretation of the present? (5) Does education help him to know the Infinite Power, above and around him, which most people call God? (6) Does education help him to anticipate, as best he may, the future and to adjust himself to its demands and limitations? (7) Does education help him to know himself, to give himself command of his own mind and will, to adjust himself to his fellows, in happiness, and they to himself, to use his intellectual faculties, or manual facilities, by wisest methods, unto the filling of immediate and timely needs, and unto the noblest and most lasting achievements? To put these seven critical questions in a different form; does education help one to be a good member, as child, brother, husband, wife, father, mother, of that central, formative, social unit, the family? Does education help one to be a good neighbor, living in peaceful and cooperating relations with those nearest? Does education help one to be a good mechanic, machinist, carpenter, miner, compositor? Does education help one to be a good citizen, who, receiving much from the State and the community, is also giving much, and even more? Does education help one unto an appreciation of the beautiful in nature, in art, in color, or line, or design, in sound, in architecture, in painting, in sculpture? Does education help one unto an understanding of the human world, an understanding which is vitally important to civilization? Does education deepen one's sense of reverence, ennobling the respect for the mysteries which seem unfathomable and producing the mood of worship in and for the infinities? If education does succeed in securing such results, it may be said that no price is too high to pay for it.

The examination of American men entering the military forces during the World War proved that about one-quarter were practically illiterate. Illiteracy in the army is rather serious, for the men are not able to read properly their orders; illiteracy in civil life, although inconvenient, is not to be reckoned among the seven deadly, intellectual sins. But it is a token of intellectual incompetence of



great significance, since illiteracy helps to make a pathway to all manner of offenses, moral as well as intellectual, both personal and communal. To be able to read, write and cipher constitutes a threefold key which unlocks many forces and conditions of the utmost worth to the happiness of the individual man and to the welfare of the whole community. Furthermore, those American citizens who do have possession and use of these primary tools do not seem to be able to use them in swift and accurate service in the various doings of life, in the understanding of the most important relations, or in any noble possession of the best that belongs to the present, or to the past. The education which most have received seems to give superficial smatterings of many subjects, without training a thorough understanding of any one. Moreover, it gives a knowledge of facts without the power to reason about facts; it provides evidences, but not the ability to weigh evidence; it lacks the scientific mood, spirit, method. The education which each should receive should, moreover, have certain ethical bases.

We are not getting an adequate return in the intelligence and character of boys and girls, of men and women, for the vastness of the cost of their education. We are not getting a correspondingly higher enrichment of manhood and womanhood for the increase in the expense of the education of which they are the beneficiaries. Any other conclusion would seem to me to be born of an unreasoning and superficial optimism in which we happy and buoyant Americans exult, and upon which we are inclined to base many educational and social theories and conclusions.

America has the belief, and has entered into the practice of that belief, of the value of education of all its people. America has become devoted to the education of the masses, and in this devotion it has been almost obliged to adopt the method of mass education. Financial and administrative reasons had caused this devotion. Educational democracy has given rise to educational equality. Educational democracy has therefore largely eliminated special education of children of special gifts. It has not, be it at once added, eliminated—rather it has largely

introduced—special education for children of peculiarly marked limitations. The backward in mental development, the defective, those limited in the physical sense, as the blind, or in physical functions, as the crippled, have had special opportunities given to them, as, indeed, these opportunities ought to be given. But, in general, American education has sought to produce equality of educational opportunity. It has endeavored to enlarge privilege for the unprivileged, and has been inclined to take away privilege from the unduly privileged. It has produced equality both by lifting the lower and by depressing the upper part of the social order. It has tried to make education democratic rather than republican, seeking to inform and to train the whole people rather than representative groups.

This determination of the mind, heart, will and conscience of the community to give an education to all opens a way for giving answer respecting our national duty. A preliminary answer is negative. I do not believe that the American people wish to get their money's worth in education by cutting down the amount of money they are paying for education. They recognize that they get more for this money, even if the increase be large, and even if they get far less than they ought, than they do for most expenditures. But they do want to get more and more of a better education. For this larger service they are willing, even eager, to pay a properly large sum. Their chief wish and will is that the division of proportional expenditure shall be wise and that each proportion shall be used with economy and with efficiency. They are willing to make the outlay of money greater and constantly greater. But they desire that the result in the intellectual and moral character of the student shall be equally great and constantly becoming greater. "Pay more to the schools! Get more from the schools!" might be made a rallying cry in American education.

Our first duty in securing an adequate return for the increased cost of education is to define carefully the essentials of education. What are these essentials? What, moreover, is the principle that determines the nature of these essentials? The principle seems to me to be the salvation, or the

complete health, of the individual and of the State. Under the application of this principle the essentials in education include, first, whatever ministers most fully to the integrity, in body and mind, of the individual citizen; second, whatever most directly aids his usefulness as a citizen; third, that which completely helps him in adjusting himself to the unchanging laws of nature, and to using these laws for his and the common benefit; fourth, whatever most adequately contributes to his loyalty as a child of God. Whatever condition, therefore, or force, serves to give these four great results is an essential in education.

The public school system has, in the last generations, been largely interested, not in these formative forces and conditions, but in forces and conditions which are not absolutely essential. The system has introduced, as already mentioned, courses of instruction that run from type-writing to gardening, from civics to cooking. Good in themselves to a degree, yet they do in the highest degree promote the creation of those elements and discipline those qualities which I have named as essential. I would not call these new courses frills of our educational robe. They have rather become parts of its normal warp and woof. But the texture thus made is not of the best. It is the best, be it ever observed, and the best only, which the thoughtful American people demand, and which its thoughtful leaders desire to give, and indeed should demand and give. To think clearly and truthfully, to feel purely, to choose wisely and firmly, to do rightly, to serve the State and the community usefully, to obey God reverently—these are the essentials. These results, be it added, are gained rather by giving a studious attention, or attentive study, to a few great subjects than by dividing attention among many subjects and several studies, which, though promising of useful results, do actually give a conceit of knowledge, a superficiality in intellect and an inadequacy in executive understanding and force. Power is necessary and not knowledge of non-essentials. Power is made by devotion to a few great subjects.

A distinct lifting of the level of ability of the teaching profession is hardly less

necessary. I contrast this teaching element with the administrative element. It is ever to be recognized that administration is a method and not an end; a means and not a final cause of our whole educational system. The executive and the teacher are not coordinate. The executive is subordinate, the teacher superordinate. All forces of every sort, financial and other, should be devoted to the teacher, and, through the teacher, to the student. It is therefore specially suggestive to note the different proportions which different cities assign to the business side and to the teaching side of their schools. In a recent year the following proportions were true in no fewer than eighteen representative American cities: The lowest percentage of administrative cost was found in the city of San Francisco, 10 per cent., and the highest in the city of St. Louis, 35 per cent. Between these two it is to be noted that Milwaukee spent on administration 11 per cent., New Orleans and Newark 14 per cent., Los Angeles 15 per cent., Baltimore 16 per cent., Jersey City, Washington and Seattle 17 per cent., Kansas City 19 per cent., Detroit 21 per cent., Minneapolis and Indianapolis 23 per cent., Boston and Buffalo 24 per cent., Cleveland 30 per cent. and Pittsburgh 33 per cent. Allowances have to be made for the different methods of accounting, but even then it has to be recognized that certain cities are apparently spending far too large sums on methods and means, and too little on the achieving of the real, consummate and comprehensive purpose of education.

A high salary scale for the teaching staff during a short period does not necessarily insure a high level of teaching ability. Yet it is also to be affirmed, and with full assurance, that throughout a long period a high salary scale does result in the securing and holding of the noblest teachers, and a low salary scale also as inevitably results in the installation of a staff which is not devoted to the highest interests. The emphasis which should be put on better teaching is well brought out in a statement recently made by the American Classical League regarding the work of teachers in so narrow a field as Latin. Dean Andrew F. West and his associates declared that facilities for the proper



training of Latin teachers "are utterly insufficient to meet the general need for training prospective teachers and for improving the training of our present body of teachers as well. There is plenty of evidence to show that the demand for Latin teachers, especially for better trained Latin teachers, is increasing rapidly and that the supply is so inadequate as to warrant deep anxiety."

Still another essential in getting better results for the increasing cost of education lies in the recognition of the intellectual liberties and the intellectual limitations of pupils. This remark, too, applies to exceptional children, exceptional in either their richness or their meagreness of natural endowment. The carrying out of the spirit of this method is exceedingly difficult, since most children in early years do not clearly and strongly manifest the signs of either intellectual poverty or intellectual wealth. But as exceptional qualities display themselves the division of pupils should be made upon the basis of the evidence. Children defective in mentality, children of the moron type, should be placed more generally in special classes, and to them should be given education fitted to their abilities or disabilities. Such training may insure, for them and for society, an element of usefulness which ordinary education, under ordinary conditions, would be unable to provide. At the opposite educational end, too, children of rich, natural endowment should be placed in classes by themselves. Their progress should not be restricted by the slowness of the understanding of their classmates.

A just estimate of proportional values in education is necessary. The age is inclined to underestimate values in education which represent profound scholarship, broad learning, philosophical relationships. The age is inclined to overestimate those values which are weighed in the scales of the mint, which awaken popular applause, which win immediate and general recognition and which result in material comforts and physical splendors. The age is, therefore, too ready to introduce and to support courses of instruction which are supposed to fit boys for business and girls for service in the home and in society. Vocational courses, therefore, have been, are

and promise to remain, popular. They command large and larger proportionally appropriations in the annual school budget. The purpose of teaching a student how to make a living is indeed as necessary as teaching him how to live. But the methods of teaching him how to make a living through vocational courses have been unwise in method, extravagant in expense and ineffective in result. The methods have been thoroughly superficial. They have generally been worthless for achieving the purposes which have inspired them. The methods, or the method, which should have moved, and which should still move, have been well described by President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, in his eighteenth report:

"The public school makes its greatest contribution to training in the crafts when it teaches boys and girls in the elementary school to do such work there as will give them the discipline of mind and the accuracy of knowledge necessary to enter a skilled craft. The greatest service the elementary school can do for the boy who wants to be a carpenter, or a mason, or a machinist, or an electrician, or a printer, or a glazier will not be accomplished by trying to teach him something about any of these skilled trades. It will do the greatest possible service for him if it sees to it that he knows the English language well, that he can reason in terms of his elementary mathematics with sharpness and accuracy, that he understands the fundamental principles upon which his Government rests, and that he has acquired in the process of his elementary education that thoroughness of knowledge in these simple subjects and that ability to turn his mind to one problem or another which will qualify him to go into a trade school and to do its work so well that the trade school will not have to teach him English and elementary mathematics. With the best intentions on the part of those who originated these courses, the introduction of vocational training into the high school has in a considerable measure served only to lead men away from those high and honorable vocations which find expression in a sincere and accurate craftsmanship and to entice them into occupations that

are already overcrowded and that play a small rôle in the work of production."

A final suggestion regarding what we are to do to get the worth of our money, and the worth of all expenditures in education, relates to our duty of making severer demands upon the intellectual powers of students. I have in mind students from the age of thirteen or fourteen to the age of seventeen or eighteen. These four years are critical years. They form the age of adolescence. Nature is making fundamental changes in every girl and boy. These changes every wise parent and teacher should, and does, take account of. My suggestion concerning a greater severity of intellectual demands is to be interpreted as consistent with the adolescent conditions. But, despite these limitations, I venture to insist upon the rightness and the righteousness of a greater severity in the demands made upon the intellectual working power of students. Study, hard, regular and continuous, should be required. To study, and to the studies, should be given a devotion almost as complete as is given to a school dance of four hours of the evening, or to a baseball or football game of three hours of the afternoon. For one case of harm to physical health from overstudy ten cases can be cited of harm from the overstrain of the high school party or from the injury of the football game. Muscular strain is more common than nerve strain, aching limbs than aching heads. Teachers should require at least seven hours a day of hard intellectual toil from their pupils. Some would say eight hours. In college I would make it even more and say ten. Seven hours a day, for five days a week, is not

onerous intellectual work. Let all teachers seek to turn their wards away from the line of least resistance. If they, the students, prefer to take Spanish rather than Greek, let them be allowed to take Spanish and be required to work just as hard on the modern as they would on the ancient language. If they like carpentry rather than chemistry, let them put as much brain, if that be possible, into the art of working in wood as they would put into the science of quantitative analysis. Let them be obliged to use their minds, and to use them hard, in whatsoever educational service they select. Teachers should cease trying to make things easy for their pupils. They should learn the lesson, too, that to demand impossible tasks—of course, within reason—is the method of securing the respect of pupils, and the method also of making school life fascinating for both teacher and student, happy for the parent, and satisfactory to the taxpaying, school-supporting community.

The community is willing to pay more for education than for any other service. It is willing to pay more for education than it is now paying. Attempts to lessen the expenditures, and thus to lessen taxes, are unwise, and indicate a class selfishness sure to be unavailing. The safety of the Republic depends more than ever upon the educational foundations and forces. As the institutions of democracy become more free, it is correspondingly important that education should become equally more influential and formative. As civil freedom increases, education should likewise increase in cubical relations. It must, indeed, thus increase. But the community demands, and has a right to demand, a just return for enlarged expenditure.





# Jews of Russia Move Back to the Soil

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG,

Relief worker and newspaper correspondent who has been in Russia for several years

THE drive of the Jews to the land in South Russia has all the force of one of the great elemental movements of nature. Foreign philanthropy has nothing to do with stimulating it, but only comes in on the edges to assist in efficient organization and to succor the starving. For the driving force is hunger, and the instinct to escape from extinction. Yet in the end it may lead to great economic, social, political results for the Jews not only of Russia, but of all Eastern Europe.

As yet few people realize its reality or permanence—so novel is the turning of the Jewish people to farming. The peasants among whom they come look at them incredulously. The inhabitants of the nearby city of Odessa stare their wonder when you tell them that thousands of Jews in their own State are even now establishing themselves painfully upon the soil. History for a thousand years has seen no such mass movement, comparable to the great migrations which settled Europe.

I passed in the Fall through a dozen or more of these new Jewish colonies, in the province of Odessa, traveling with the agricultural director of local relief. I saw the Jews plowing the blueblack fields of Southern Ukraine as late as Nov. 20, when the Ukrainian peasants had long since gone indoors against the cold, leaving their earth to shift for itself till Spring. The Jewish farmers were sleeping in the open, or in dugouts or straw shelters, preparing the land for the Spring sowing, since their agriculturist told them this was a better method than to leave it unplowed as the lazier peasants did.

I saw the Jewish families crowded nine to twelve per room in the outbuildings of these more settled Ukrainian peasants, who were reaping a tiny golden harvest from barn rents. These Jewish pioneers had broken all ties with the towns they came from; they were camping even in hired stables or in dugouts, in the hope that some day, not too distant, they might have suffi-

cient harvest to build a mud hut, and later a stone cottage of their own.

I have seen also the towns the Jewish farmers come from and I know why they come, flocking in ever-increasing numbers to the free lands of Southern Ukraine and Northern Crimea. Those little towns are places of death and desolation. Even before the war they could not support their miserable population, which competed itself below the level of subsistence and sent off emigrants to America by tens of thousands. Shut off by Czardom from the capitals, the universities, the big industrial towns, and from land ownership, except in those few farm settlements started a hundred years ago in the south of Russia, the Jewish population was doomed to become a people of petty traders and small artisans, struggling unsuccessfully against the march of modern methods of factory production and chain store development. The fact that the chain store development of today, which pushes them to the wall, is owned by the Government or by a cooperative society, makes no difference in the basic situation—a situation bound to arrive with large scale methods of either production or distribution.

More than half the Jews of old Russia were traders, usually on a beggarly scale. Most of the remainder were small artisans, fighting the losing battle of the artisan with the machine. Bad as was their condition before 1914, war and revolution made it infinitely worse. They underwent pogroms that slew perhaps 200,000 in direct slaughter and starved many thousands indirectly. After the revolution they found themselves free and equal citizens of the Soviet Republics, entitled to take up lands and go into factories and universities on the same basis as all citizens. But this same Soviet Government was passionately pushing large scale State industry and cooperative retail distribution direct to peasant villages. The little Jewish towns were politically free, but economically they

were ruined. "The worst of it is," said a Jewish student of the problem, "that the more the country improves, the more they will be ruined. There is still a tiny chance for these middlemen, since Government shops and cooperatives do not yet run smoothly. But the faster general organization improves, the faster we middlemen go to the wall. Our trading towns were abnormal anyway; as the country grows normal with good distribution" — he put his hands to his throat and made a choking pantomime to indicate what would happen to the small Jewish trader.

So the broken windows of the empty shops are covered with boards because there is neither money nor incentive for repair. A survey made by the students in the Gomel Soviet School during their vacation summed up the situation: "There are many more tradesmen than people who buy. Only a few have regular work; the rest are beggared. \* \* \* Jewish agricultural collections to take up land were organized last year in all the places we investigated. There would be more if the land were nearer or if there were help to reach it. There is no need to make propaganda for farming. The need is to hold back those who cannot feed themselves till harvest."

The Jewish movement toward the land

organizes itself into working groups, or artels, which usually combine into a larger community of half a dozen artels, capable of maintaining its own schoolhouse. This type of organization is especially favored by the Soviets and by relief societies; and no single Jewish family is strong enough to establish itself without aid. The extreme poverty is unbelievable to an American. There is one plow for three or four families, one wagon for six or seven families. These working groups are organized before they leave the towns. They send out their representatives to look for land. A tall, young Jewish farmer, standing at the door of his still unfinished stone hut in the biting November wind, told me how he organized his group: "I come from a small town near Kiev. I have no trade. For I served five years under Nicholas and five in a German prison camp. When I came home my people, who once were rich, were ruined. The bandit bands had been seven times looting through our town. Every one else was ruined also. So I called a meeting in the theatre and said: 'It is impossible to live as we are. Brother cheats brother, and we all lie to the tax collector; yet the taxes eat us up. This same Government which hinders our trading opens the right to land. Let us take up land and live by honest work.'" Sev-



The house of a "collective" in process of construction



enty-three families signed as members of the new agricultural organization and sent the young secretary out to look for land.

### A SPONTANEOUS MOVEMENT

The first move of the Jews to the land was spontaneous, unguided by government or relief organizations. They held meetings, organized and went to the local authorities for the right to the soil which is granted to all citizens. But rapidly under their pressure the vacant lands near the Jewish towns gave out. It was necessary to go further afield to the Southern Ukraine. So the farmers' organizations sent out delegates, the young secretary who was telling me his experiences went from Kiev to Odessa and found what he wanted. Here in the South six acres was allowed to every "eater," whereas in the crowded Northern Ukraine there is barely enough land for two acres per person.

In this way the Jewish agricultural population, which before the war had been about 50,000 and which in the famine year sank as low as 20,000, shot up again to 60,000, and then went on climbing until now it is estimated as close to 130,000.

Under this pressure the Government and the various relief societies took a hand. Something had to be done to bring order out of chaos—Jewish delegates wandering

hither and thither in search of land; Jewish colonists, men, women and children, stranded by famine, sometimes simply camped down on land and working it before it was legally theirs. About this time Bragan, a Jewish farmer and consulting expert in the Department of Agriculture, began writing about a Jewish Republic which might arise on the shores of the Black Sea. The worried relief societies told him to keep still or he would get them into trouble, and the Soviet Government formed a special Commission for Settling Jews on Land.

Mikhail Kalenin, the Soviet President, in an interview with Elias Tobenkin, Russian correspondent for *The New York Herald Tribune*, outlined his sympathetic and constructive policy toward the Jews of Russia: "I feel the tragedy of the Jewish people keenly," M. Kalenin said. "All of us in the Government do. The Jews are among our oldest inhabitants, yet each successive Czarist Government prevented them from taking root in the soil. They were forbidden to own land, rent land, work land. We do not like to be charged with fostering a policy that is partial to the Jewish people, but we are determined to make it possible for the Jews to grow together with the soil of Russia the same as all other nationalities.

"I would like to see a Jewish republic established in Russia, in Siberia," continued the President. "It need not be a very big republic—half a million people would do. Nor need the whole of this half million population be exclusively landworkers. Such a Jewish republic could very well consist of a combination of peasants, with home artisans and skilled mechanics."

The Government offered free land; \$10,000,000 was the pre-war value of lands which have already been settled by Jews. It gave transportation to people and freight at a rate so low as to be practically free, also seed, timber and frequently loans of money. The Special Commission takes up with the various provinces and autonomous republics the question



These hardy young girls are doing their share of the rough pioneer work



A Jewish colonist and his two sons working their field

of what lands can be spared and in what localities. All told, 260,000 acres are at present assigned or in process of survey for definite assignment. But the program of the Special Commission contemplates 3,000,000 acres during the next few years, as the Jews settle the South Ukraine and move on toward the Northern Caucasus. In order to avoid friction with the local peasants, who will themselves wish to expand their holdings as they get better implements, the Jewish settlement is limited to about one-tenth of the total available land fund in any given area. Even so the acreage planned for Jewish colonization can hold in the next few years 500,000 people, or about one-sixth of the total Jewish population in the Soviet Union. If these can be settled on farms the rest can perhaps find places in industry and trade; or, if the drive to the land should still persist, there is Siberia, hardly available now to such poverty-stricken settlers, but richly open to those who have once gained experience and a little capital.

The lands to which the Jews are moving now are beautiful; mile after mile I traveled across them, great slopes of purple-brown crossed by the blue-black of plowed fields—sweeping up to a cloudless sky and a treeless horizon. Plowing goes on as late as the end of November—in the Crimea

even into December. Only the lack of moisture prevents two crops a year.

Gay looking little villages appear around the curves of valleys, with stone or mud houses whitewashed or painted sky blue, green or orange. There being practically no trees, the houses are built of the hard mud, strengthened with chopped straw and baked into bricks by ten months of clear sun. The roofs are of thatch or rainbow-colored tile. Gay looking are the Ukrainian villages, but the life in them is not gay. Primitive methods of culture result in these dry steppes in crop failure every three or four years. The village school is just beginning to take root in a few of them. In the white and blue houses children huddle indoors all Winter for lack of outdoor clothing. When I drove through in late November the chief sign of life was furnished by irrepressible boys of 14 and 15, who ran madly after the automobile without the slightest expectation of catching it.

Into this village district come the Jewish colonists. The first Summer the men come, plowing and sowing the land, and returning for the Winter to the shelter of the towns. The second Summer come the families, building perhaps a few houses, renting barns or shacks from the Ukrainians, or even, when too far away from Ukrainian villages for this, building dug-outs for shelter. Already, even in their



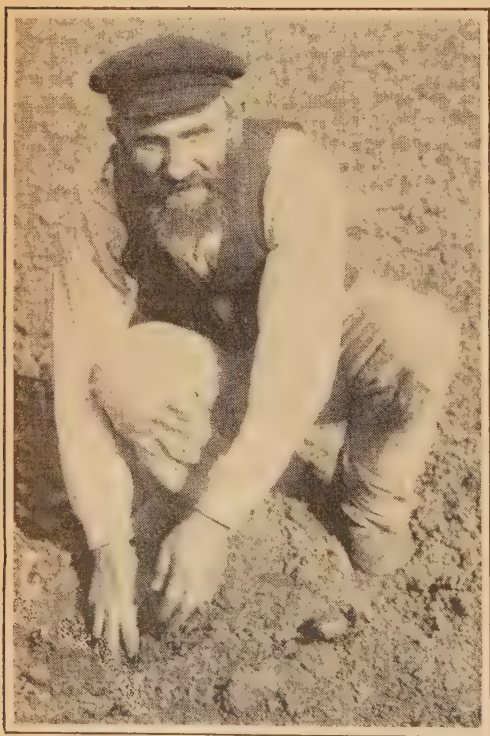
newness and poverty, they are introducing better methods of cultivating the soil. "We have 400 acres sown with Winter grains said the organizer of one small community to me. "The peasants near by have not plowed this Fall a single acre for Spring. We have also introduced the six-field system as our agriculturist taught us, planting with varied crops so that we do not have to depend on one. This saved us during the year of crop failure, for the wheat and rye were ruined, but the sunflowers and corn pulled us through." The community of which this man was organizer was named Labor. All these organizations give themselves significant names; there are, for example, Glory, Light, Red Reaper, New Era, Free Labor, Work Lovers and others called less cheerfully Plow and Landless.

"How do you get on with the peasants?" I asked again and again across the country of the Jewish colonists. "We do not know

how they feel in their hearts," answered one cautious woman, "but they are friendly in their actions." Others said that at first the peasants were annoyed at the influx of strangers, but that, little by little, "when we were both longingly watching the sky for rain together," they came to accept these newcomers, saying in praise of them that "they work as well as the Germans." Than this there is no higher or kinder praise from a Russian peasant.

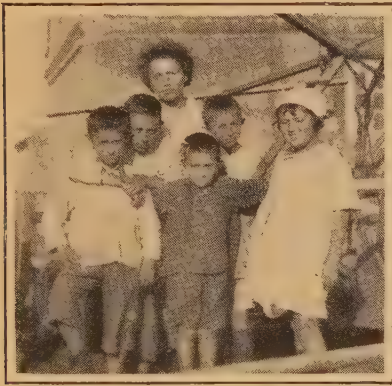
Under the heavy pressure of pioneer need individual life with its infinite variety persists. I remember three different women whom I saw on the same day. One a bride of a few months, wife of the leader of a band of seventy families. Her one-roomed stone hut, shining spotless with whitewash, was an aspiration toward beauty and light, here in the drudgery of a hardly established settlement. Twin brass beds brought reminiscences of the town; the family portraits were neatly ranged on a table. Even the hoops of brown onions drying above the great white peasant stove looked like ornamental festoons, they had been placed with such care. It was the cleanest and best house in the district; she was the best housekeeper. Yet the house was bought at price, costing only \$250, not extravagant, certainly, according to American views for a honeymoon home, but so extravagant according to the standards of this settlement that this one expense had wiped out the savings of the family. Now that the first harvest had failed, the man was reduced to asking charity in order to buy a horse and a cow.

Another woman colonist I saw was of a different type. Gaunt and brown, she was standing in leather boots and close-drawn shawl, working with the men in a vast depression which was to be made into a pond, so that in dry seasons the cattle might yet live on the seepage from the hills. "I am a member of the collective in my own right," she told me. "My husband and father and brother were killed in pogroms. I had no money and no horse and no cow, but they let me join the collective. Of my four children two—boys of seventeen and fifteen—can work. But I am the working head of the family." And she bent again to her spade.



The settlers begin planting vines for new vineyards before they start to build their homes

Still another woman I remember, a worn mother with five small children. Nine people, including her husband and his brother, lived in a one-room outbuilding on



An open-air school. The teacher is also a colonist

the premises of a Ukrainian peasant, a dismal shack, hardly worth the \$13 rent for a six months' season which the peasant charged. Uneven dirt floor, littered with pieces of wood; lumpy beds of straw on wood, each planned for three or four occupants. Next morning I saw her twenty miles away in a market town to which she had walked in the hope of procuring a cow which the credit society had promised to nine members of her collective. From 2 o'clock in the chill of a November morning she had trudged with only a thin shawl over her shoulders. But the peasants discovered the crowd of buyers, and the price of cows rose from \$22 to more than \$25, and the credit society decided to buy on another day. Four families had their cows, but the rest were returning empty handed. The woman walked beside me, complaining, not bitterly, but with resignation, that again there would be no milk for the children; that the wind leaked into the house and the children would be cold and get sick. "Do you want to go back to the town?" I asked her. She looked neither eager nor averse. "What is there to go back to?" she said. "My own life is evil everywhere. But my children will have land!" A half-subdued glow came into her eyes as she spoke these words.

That is what keeps them all going, under

conditions as hard as ever faced pioneers. Their children, the offspring of a homeless race, will have homes. If they succeed they will give a solid basis of land occupation to a people which, since it was in Palestine two thousand years ago, has been only a paying guest in the lands of other people. It may even prove, some enthusiasts think, a way out for many of the 8,000,000 Jews of Eastern Europe, who are now ground between the millstones of the little nations, and of whom a prominent American Jew told me hopelessly that "half are doomed." Perhaps, after all, they are not doomed. Abraham Bragan recently prophesied a Jewish republic along the shores of the Black Sea, taking in parts of Southern Ukraine and Northern Crimea, with Odessa remaining a Ukrainian port but a Jewish university centre, and Kherson as possible capital for the new State. And this prophecy was fulfilled when the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Government issued a degree legalizing the appropriation of a portion of the district of Kherson in the Ukraine for the establishment of an autonomous Jewish Soviet republic within the Soviet Union.

Most of the Jews fight shy of politics, saying that it only harms them. It is in the name of politics they have always been slain in the past. "We are doing it merely to keep from starving," they say, "and not



Delivering food to the workers on the steppes





Preparing to take the bread out of the oven. These girls are typical of the younger generation of settlers

to found a Soviet Palestine or any other dream." Yet for all that republics have been born in the past out of the grim hunger of pioneers. Larin, the well-known Russian statistician, writes: "If the Jewish masses should want it, if they actually go to the land in great numbers and populate comparatively new territory, the formation of a republic is absolutely assured on the same basis as are created all the autonomous republics that are now part of the Soviet Union."

Under the conditions of wide local autonomy on cultural matters which prevail in Russia, the growth of the new Jewish republic is not impracticable. Nor does it put any strain upon the present political methods of Russia. The Jewish settlers already are encouraged to organize in working groups, combined in villages large enough to support a village school. When possible, it is already planned to place several of these villages near enough to each other to support a common high school. All such villages have autonomy in lan-

guage, choice of school teacher and local customs. A district such as the 80,000 acres near Kherson is already enough to constitute a "rayon," an administrative district of the Ukraine, with many of the functions of a sovereign State. "Republic," after all, is merely a name; there are smaller republics already in the Soviet Union than this region near Kherson. The important fact just now among the Jewish population is neither politics nor power nor autonomy, but saving themselves from death by getting food from the soil. There are 6,000,000 acres of free land that border the Black Sea, and 8,000,000 Jews in unstable equilibrium in Eastern Europe, in Poland, Rumania, the Balkans, as well as in Russia. The doors are closed toward the great cities of America. But the doors are open for some of them, and may perhaps open yet wider, toward great free lands in Russia, where the Jewish pioneers, pushing in by tens of thousands, are digging and starving and struggling and building a new home for their children.

# The Awakening of Women in India

By VASUDEO B. METTA

Indian Barrister and Author

THE women of India, asleep for more than a century, are at last awakening.

In ancient times women were a great force in Indian life. There was Lilavati, the famous woman astronomer; Gargi, who used to rout the ablest of Indian philosophers in public philosophical debates; Chand Bibi, the great warrior-queen, and Ahlya Bai, the great ruler and stateswoman; Mirabai, the beautiful Queen of Chittore and Zeb-un-Nissa, in whose veins flowed the blood of the Great Moguls and who wrote exquisite poetry, which is still read and sung by millions of men and women in the country.

But somehow the women of India were relegated to obscurity with the coming of the British rule in India. They devoted their life to making their husbands and children happy and did not interest themselves in affairs outside their homes. They were satisfied with their old culture, but showed no desire to absorb the new culture which had come into the country from the West. This proved to be unfortunate for the Indian women because their husbands thought and talked of Western arts, literatures and philosophies, and as the wives found it impossible to share in this intellectual life, unhappiness followed and a great gulf was created between the sexes.

But life never stands still. Movements for the Western education of Indian women were started. Elementary and high schools for girls were established in large cities like Bombay and Calcutta. Then women began to go to men's colleges and take degrees. Several of them went to Great Britain and the United States for their higher education. Recently a woman's medical college at Delhi and a woman's university at Poona were established. Indian women were made eligible to practice as lawyers and barristers through the strenuous efforts of Miss Hazra, B. A.,

B. L., whose application to practice brought the subject into prominence.

Half a century ago there were probably not more than fifty women in the whole of India who had received an English education, but today it is estimated that there are at least 50,000 women there who have received a modern education.

The returns of the Census of India of 1921 showed a general advance in literacy among women during the decade, and another census taken today would undoubtedly show even greater increases. In Baroda the proportion per 10,000 of women able to read and write advanced from 205 in 1911 to 403 in 1921. In British India the number of women scholars in colleges and schools rose by over 50 per cent. between 1911 and 1919, and throughout India in 1921 the number of literate women over 20 was 23 per thousand against 13 in 1911.

Women are becoming increasingly active in Indian politics. The agitations by Mrs. Hirabai Taka and Miss Mithi Taka for the enfranchisement of their sex have resulted in women becoming municipal corporators in Bombay and Madras. The All-India Women's Union was the first purely political organization of women in India, Princess Nazli Rafiya being the founder and president. The only organization now working definitely for woman suffrage is the Women's Indian Association, with over forty branches of more than 2,000 members. This was founded in 1917 "to present to women their responsibility as daughters of India and to help them realize that the future of India lies largely in their hands." Only three years after its beginning suffrage was won in half the country.

Indian women exercised democratic rights for the first time in history in 1924 during the second election for the Legislative Councils and the Legislative Assembly. Madras Presidency was the first to confer



the suffrage on its women, and it was therefore the first of the Provinces in which women recorded their Parliamentary vote.

Throughout the whole of South India women now have the vote on the same terms as men. In Travancore and in Mysore women may be elected as councilors. Campaigns in Bengal and Behar have recently resulted in women getting the municipal vote. There are women councilors in Madras, and the United Provinces of India, population 47,000,000, have given their qualified women equal political rights with men for the Legislative Council, District Municipalities and Local Boards. According to the *Stri-Dharma*, official organ of the Women's Indian Association, "recent reforms gave the Burmese Municipal Councils the right for the first time to elect women as councilors."

For the first time in India the Magisterial Bench became open to women, when Mrs. H. E. Cousins took her seat on the Bench at Saidapet Honorary Magistrates' Court, Madras.

Thousands of Indian women have become followers of Mohandas K. Gandhi, the great leader. In 1919 many women gave away their beautiful ornaments to Mr. Gandhi for the national cause, and a year later they cast aside their fine dresses—so dear to them as women—to put on dresses of khaddar (coarse homespun cloth). Mrs. Gandhi, Mrs. Sarola Devi Chaudhrani, Mrs. Nehru, wife of the Indian leader, Pandit Motilal Nehru; Mrs. Das, wife of the late C. R. Das, and several other women are as prominent in the Nationalist movement in India as any of the men. In fact, they inspire their men folk to devote their lives to the welfare of their country. In a public speech recently delivered Mrs. Nehru said:

Our task is to devote ourselves to the welfare of our country. We must produce more cloth and try to shatter the present system of government in the country, which promises to give us freedom, but does not really do so.

Mrs. Gandhi worked strenuously for the

non-cooperation movement while her husband was in the Yarrowda jail. Mrs. Das was in jail with her husband more than once. Everything tends to show that the fire of patriotism, once lighted in the breasts of the women of India, can never be extinguished.

But it should not be supposed that Indian women are thinking of nothing but politics. They are also taking a prominent part in the cultural renaissance of their country. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has written most charming poems in English, which have been praised by eminent English critics like Edmund Gosse and Arthur Symonds. She is also such an eloquent orator that large audiences listen to her rhythmical speeches spellbound. Recently this gifted woman went to South Africa to plead the cause of her compatriots who had settled there, and so impressed was General Smuts by her personality and speeches that he promised to do whatever he could for the improvement of the status of Indian immigrants in South Africa. I may also mention Mrs. Ghosal, a sister of the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, who writes most charming stories in Bengali and English. India has its women artists, like Mrs. Sukhlata Rao, Miss Bahadurji and others, who sent their works to be shown at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. Mrs. Atiya Begum Fyzee Rahamin is noted all over India as a musician and a writer on Indian music. Her sister, the Begum of Janjira, has recently built a fine house in pure Indian style at Bombay, which she is thinking of donating to the nation to serve as an art museum.

Many more names could be cited and much more could be said of the innumerable patriotic and talented women of India who are continuing the tradition of great women that has come down from ancient days. Enough has been said, however, to show that the modern women of India are fully abreast of the march of feminine progress noteworthy in the world today, and that they may be counted among new India's most prized national assets.

# Numerical Strength of the Confederate Army

By FREEMAN H. HART

Professor of History, Hampton-Sidney College, Va.

IT is not the purpose of this paper to solve the much-mooted problem of the numerical strength of the Confederate Army, but rather to give a rough estimate, within the hundred thousand, from a study of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate armies that has extended over a period of nearly two years. The impossibility of making more than a rough estimate is evidenced by the fact that figures already worked out vary all the way from 600,000 to 1,400,000, the extremes in each case being the finding from familiarity with the situation as a contemporary and from careful study.

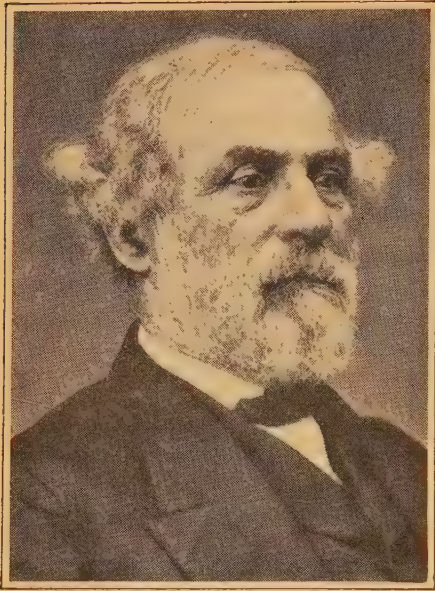
Several factors that have played an important part in former estimates will be dealt with briefly before entering upon the main discussion. One of these is the more or less playful wartime expression that "one Rebel could lick five Yankees." The idea behind this, that the Confederates fought and defeated Union armies much superior numerically, has caused some Confederate proponents to minimize the number in the Southern service and magnify the number in the Union Army, thus getting a proportion of about one to five. In retaliation, as it were, some Union proponents tend to reverse the policy and bring the numbers toward a par or a proportion of about three to two. Apart from other consideration, the Confederate contention has a basis in a white military population (18-45) of a million or less for the eleven States as compared with four and a half millions for the North. On the other hand, the contention of the Union proponents is supported by the fact that in practically every engagement of importance, except in the latter part of the war, the forces on the immediate battle front were usually not far from equal, with the Union superior in numbers for the most part, but almost never with a greater pro-

portion than about three to two. Southern generalship might account for part of this, but not for the difference from a one-to-five proportion. The fact remains, then, that these contentions not only neutralize each other but also that they are of little help in reaching any conclusion as to numbers in the two armies. The factor of proportion has been given much more prominence than its contribution to a substantial conclusion would seem to warrant.

The slave population is usually thought of as an important factor in the source of supply for the Confederacy, thus making possible the release of a greater number of the white military population for the army, and this was more or less true. A number of facts in this connection must be kept in mind, however. The greatest majority of the slaves were used for cotton culture, and with no market for cotton were a burden to the source of supply unless they actually produced as much food on the plantation as they consumed, which, for the most part, was not the case. The real food producers of the South were the small farmers.

The more or less extravagant claims of individual States as to the number of men in the Confederate Army have played an important part in some estimates. It is most natural for individuals or communities to be prejudiced in their own favor concerning the part played in either victory or defeat. Neither Northern nor Southern States are an exception to this in their claims for the Civil War or any other war in which volunteering played any part or the records of conscription were not carefully kept. Former Confederate States in their claims for numbers in the Confederate Army in many cases not only have included militiamen who were never in the Confederate service, home guards





ROBERT E. LEE

The leader of the Confederate armies in the Civil War

people and so had a very large percentage of male, and thus military, population. They did most of their campaigning between crops and so were their own source of supply. The French and German Governments in the World War, with their thoroughly organized military systems of universal service that tolerated no disaffection or opposition and knew no mountain refuges, were able to muster for their death struggle only one of every six.

Much has been made of regimental organizations as a basis of computation of Confederate military strength and they do seem to furnish one of the most tangible methods of approach. The most thorough and respectful piece of work that has been done on army statistics for the Civil War is Livermore's *Numbers and Losses*. His chief estimate for the Confederate Army is based largely on the number of regiments and an average strength. The chief objection to his computation is in his estimate both of the number of regiments and of their average size. From a study of the Official Record it would seem that Colonel Livermore has ignored the diminution of the Confederacy as will be noted especially in the use of Tennessee as an illustration which indicates the raising of nearly fifty Confederate regiments after Union occupation of a large part of it, if his figures are to be accepted. This study indicates further that 800 regiments with an average strength of under 900 men would be a conservative revision of his figures.

An interesting paper in connection with regimental organizations and their average size is the Confederate Quartermaster General's report, dated Oct. 10, 1864, and approved by the Secretary of War, giving "the estimated amount required to pay the army of the Confederate States for six months from Jan. 1 to June 30, 1865." This report, which surely could not have been underestimated, called for 547 regiments of infantry with an average of 763 officers and men, 104 regiments of cavalry with an average of 782, six corps of artillery with an average of 4,171, making a total, counting field and staff, signal corps and lesser units, of about 726 regiments and 551,976 men. To the total of regiments must be added those disbanded

and boy reserves who never even smelled powder, and men otherwise employed by the Confederate Government, but also in many cases have counted men two or three times and, again, many even who are included in the claims of other States. These claims are based on company or other organization rolls. Men transferred more or less freely from one organization to another or on discharge from one, especially the twelve months' men, frequently volunteered in another. They were subsequently counted on both muster rolls and sometimes on a third or fourth in the computation for the State.

Charles Francis Adams in his *Studies Military and Diplomatic* deplores the lack of patriotism and bravery on the part of the men of the Confederacy, if it did have at least one of every five of its white population in the army, which would mean over a million men, and cites as a comparison the 90,000 in the Boer Army out of a population of 325,000, or about one to four. In connection with the Boers, however, he fails to note several important items. Great numbers of foreign adventurers swelled the ranks of the Boer Army. The Boers were a pioneer

as well as militia organizations in Confederate service but paid by their respective States. These would hardly increase the total to more than 800, which is to be compared with Jones's 750, Livermore's 813, Fox's 849 and Stone's 1,009.

In the absence of full and dependable reports, conscription on the census basis is probably the most definite factor in estimating Confederate numbers. A fuller discussion later makes unnecessary more than a few statements here as to its limitations. Those who have used it have ignored the constant diminution of the Confederacy. The first act calling for the enrolment of those 18 to 35 came when the Confederacy had lost nearly half of Virginia, Louisiana and Arkansas, and more than half of Tennessee, as well as portions of other States. The 17 to 50 act was passed for a Confederacy made up of portions of six States, Louisiana and Florida being for it practically nonentities, and before it went into effect to any extent Georgia was invaded and partially occupied, thus further diminishing Confederate territory and population. Even before the fall of Vicksburg conscription was very little enforced west of the Mississippi and almost not at all after that event.

#### CONTEMPORARY ESTIMATES

The opinions and estimates of contemporaries would seem to throw light on the problem even if they are of little actual value for a present estimate.

On Oct. 20, 1862, in connection with the proposal to raise the conscription age limit from 35 to 40 or 45, Secretary of War Randolph, in a report to President Davis, estimated the military population of the Confederacy from 18 to 40 at 863,500, three-sevenths of whom would be exempt, leaving 493,000 for the army. This number would be large enough to feed and clothe. Also, it was 5 per cent. of the population, which was a larger percentage than European countries put in the field. To raise the age to 45 would add 101,500, four-sevenths of which number would add an additional 55,000 to the army. Davis endorsed his recommendation for 18 to 40.

On Dec. 15, 1862, Campbell, the As-

sistant Secretary of War of the Confederacy, wrote the British Consul at Charleston, S. C., that the United States had called into service 700,000 men, which was a number approximate to the military population of the Confederacy.

The American Annual Cyclopedia for 1862 estimated the military population of the South from 18 to 35 at 689,491, having deducted exemptions at 15 per cent. and including 50,000 from the border States. Southern volunteers at the end of 1861 numbered 305,000 from the eleven Confederate States to which number was added 50,000 from the border States. The number of Confederate regiments in February, 1862, was 400 of infantry with a proportionate number of cavalry and artillery.

Other contemporary estimates range from the 600,000 of Adjutant General Cooper to the 1,000,000 of Ellis of North Carolina, both given in 1865. This array of estimates from those in close touch with the situation shows not only a lot of divergence but also the possibility of some middle ground as a nearer answer to the problem.

#### EFFECTIVENESS OF CONSCRIPTION

It can be readily seen that a census report of 1860, with the subsequent growth of population for the period of the war, for the eleven States of the Confederacy cannot be taken entirely as a working basis for Confederate conscription. There were a number of elements that had a very important place in enrolment, such as disaffection, diminution of territory and thus population, economic conditions, topography, political disagreements and, of course, exemptions which varied as affected by one or more of the preceding.

Practically every Confederate State had its portion or element of population bitterly opposed to secession. With the war a reality, however, great numbers of them fell in line and did valiant service for the Confederacy. This was not the case universally by any means. Many of them continued to oppose the war, successfully evading service and becoming at the end of the conflict the basis for the Presidential reconstruction plan.



How great the numbers of disaffected were is uncertain, but Confederate war correspondence, especially as to conscription, contains abundant evidence of it. Taking it up by States, we find the following reports, which indicate something as to the situation. Governor Shorter of Alabama tells of his difficulty in raising twelve regiments with 5,000 men in the Spring of 1862, before conscription began, even with a bounty offered. In June he reports bitter opposition to conscription from some parts of the State. In the Spring of 1864 we find conscription in desperate straits. State authority had failed. Pillow had accomplished little, even with his detail of twenty-five companies. The commandant of conscription for the State reports: "A large portion of the State is in such a condition that the constant presence of an armed force is absolutely necessary to secure even respect." Secret societies had organized to oppose conscription. In some counties Federal recruiting agents were organizing mounted regiments. Like reports, in varying degrees of alarm for the Confederate War Department, are to be found as coming from Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi, especially, as well as from all of the other Confederate States.

For the Confederacy as a whole three reports on disaffection are of special interest. In his message to Congress of Feb. 3, 1864, President Davis deplored disaffection in various sections of the Confederacy which had resulted in interference with the military by the civil authorities, because of opposition to conscription, and even in peace meetings. Preston, the Superintendent of Conscription, in his report to President Davis of April 30, 1864, stated that conscription had been eminently successful in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and that all complaints of the evils and failures of conscription came from Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi. General Bragg in a report to President Davis of Sept. 7, 1863, stated that the conscript service in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi was very poor.

The diminution of the territory and population with its consequent effect on conscription has already been considered. It cannot be refuted that 18 to 35 conscrip-

tion was used for a diminished Confederacy and the 17 to 50 act had as a working basis a military population within those age limits of little over 500,000 men.

The mountaineer is as a rule, and very naturally, too, not very enthusiastic about any war except his own. If he preferred not to be enrolled, and most of them did, his mountain fastness furnished an excellent refuge from enrolling officers. There were thousands of mountaineers of the Southern Appalachian included in the census of 1860. Not a very large proportion of them were included in the Confederate Army.

The disagreements of State Governors with the Confederate Government and of conscript officials themselves over the administration of the conscription acts certainly added nothing to the efficiency of conscription. They are in evidence all through the Official Records in not a few places.

Covering as they did practically every field of public activity such as Confederate and State officers, clergymen, doctors, druggists, teachers, clerks of various kinds, post office employees and officials, mail carriers, railroad and express employes, farmers, artisans and mechanics engaged in the manufacture of clothing, necessary commodities and war materials, newspaper editors and their staffs, superintendents and employes of charitable institutions, conscientious and religious objectors, and foreigners, it is not difficult to appreciate the fact that exemptions were another considerable drain on the military population of the Confederacy. Physical disability added considerably to the grand total of those exempt for the above causes.

While a computation of the effectiveness of conscription is rather intangible, we can approach somewhere near two phases of it, that is, the number of those liable under the various conscript acts and, on the other side, the approximate number of those exempt. The number of males 18 to 35 in 1860, for all of the Confederate States, was 817,419. Beginning with the 18 to 35 Conscription act of 1862 the Confederate Congress by subsequent acts finally reached the 17 to 50 act of 1864, which acts of course greatly increased the number of those liable to military service. The ad-

justment of this increase to the constant diminution of the Confederacy, using census figures, will increase the total of those liable to military service under all of the conscription acts of the Confederacy to about 980,000. A study of the statistics involved will show that this figure is too high rather than undercomputed.

As to the exemptions, the exemption provisions of the conscript acts, the numerous pleas for exemptions of various kinds already noted, the disputes over and abuses of exemption and the exemption report of the Conscription Bureau must furnish material for approximation. The kinds of employment listed in the exemption provisions have been given. There is abundant evidence that exemption was very much abused by States, by commercial organizations and by individuals. The report of the Bureau of Conscription on exemptions, February, 1865, is more or less full for only six States. The total given for them is 65,514. Comparing this report with other reports for individual States, we find a number of divergences. In the case of Virginia the bureau report gives 13,439. General Kemper, Commandant of the Virginia Reserves, makes the statement that from a report furnished him by an officer of the Bureau of Conscription Sept. 1, 1864, Virginia had 28,035 men 18 to 45 exempt, which he believed too low, 40,000 being a nearer figure. In another report Preston, Chief of the Bureau, gave 38,166 exemptions for North Carolina instead of the 16,546 of the February, 1865, report.

If any dependence can be placed in the additional or individual reports, the total of exemptions for the six States as reported would be over 100,000. On the same basis and according to the proportion of population at about two to five the exemptions of the occupied areas would be 40,000, making the total exemptions 140,000. It is reasonable to suppose that wherever there had been conscription in the occupied areas exemption was more lenient than in the six States with reports.

Deducting the exemption total, 140,000, from the conscription total, 980,000, there is a residue of 840,000. From it must be deducted that more or less large number of conscription evaders who figured in no report, the variously estimated numbers

who fought with the Union armies and the Southern men who lived in the North. To it must be added those who volunteered from beyond the age limits of conscription, those who were from the border States, and the number who probably were conscripted in the Trans-Mississippi or occupied areas from those within the later conscription ages. The definite sums for this subtraction and addition would probably change the residue total very little.

In addition to the reports and data from the Official Records and the American Annual Cyclopaedia, much of the following is based on, and corroborated by, a set of figures furnished by Professor Edward Channing. It is a list of reports of the various Confederate armies at given dates:

#### CONFEDERATE ARMY REPORTS

Beginning with the end of the volunteer period, March and April, 1862, there were about 350,000 in the Confederate Army. This probably does not include the permanent casualties up to that time, which would be about 50,000, making a total of around 400,000. There was a special call from the Confederate War Department to the various States for 175 regiments or about 142,000 men, dated Feb. 2, 1862, which had not been filled in March, 1862, and was not entirely filled before conscription began but, in spite of the fact, brought many men into the Confederate ranks between March and June of 1862. Assuming that 100,000 of the 140,000 asked for were gotten into the army before conscription, there were about 450,000 to 500,000 in the service when conscription was started. Adding to this number those brought in through conscription which, according to the report of the Bureau of Conscription, February, 1865, amounted to 81,993 conscripts, 72,292 volunteers because of conscription, and 7,733 assigned to light duty, or a total of 161,918, there would be a grand total of from 600,000 to 650,000. To this number again must be added men from State regiments transferred to, or used in, the Confederate service after June 1, 1862, possible conscription in the Trans-Mississippi region and other occupied areas, and also any volunteers from beyond the Confeder-



acy limits or beyond the age limits. These would probably increase the total to between 700,000 and 800,000.

The last figures with which we are to deal are the consolidated reports of the Confederate Army as found in the Official Records for six-month periods. These include three items, *present for duty*, *present*, and *present and absent*. *Present and absent* includes all those on the Confederate muster rolls who had not been killed, died of wounds or disease, or been discharged because of permanent disability. The high-water mark of those *present and absent* was reached about the beginning of 1864 at 464,646 or, as corroborated and filled in by the fuller Channing figures, about 482,000. After that time permanent casualties seem to have exceeded additions to the army. Adding to this 482,000 the permanent casualties from battle deaths, deaths from disease, and permanent disa-

bility, amounting to 201,059, we have 683,059. This again does not include State units in Confederate service.

From the foregoing computations then we have a divergence of figures but limits for a possible estimate. On the basis of 800 regiments with an average of about 900, the result is 720,000. Using the conscription figures, a possibility of 840,000 has been determined. Combining volunteers and conscription results brings an estimate of 700,000 to 800,000. From the reports of *present and absent* and permanent casualties the total obtained is 681,059, which is exclusive of State organizations not in the Confederate service. As for border State troops, there seems to have been a balance in troops from the Confederacy in the Union armies. Between 700,000 and 800,000 therefore would seem to be a logical estimate for the numerical strength of the Confederate Army.



# Youth's Revolt as Science Sees It

By WATSON DAVIS

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SCIENCE is paying ever-increasing attention to the problems of childhood and youth, and not merely as these questions concern bodily health, but also as they affect mental and moral development. On all sides we hear the older generation expressing its anxiety over the rebellious ways of the younger people and wondering what can be done to enforce more discipline on the younger generation. From the standpoint of the science of mental hygiene the question does not appear in exactly the same light as it does to parents, much disturbed by their children's wildness and insubordination. This was evident from the important discussions at the first American Health Congress held at Atlantic City last May, to which it is well worth again making reference.

According to the experts who appeared before that congress, the youthful rebellion of today may be blamed in a large measure upon the parents rather than on the children. The mental experts who have studied the matter of normal mental development see in the widespread revolt of the younger generation, manifested by frankness, bobbed hair and protest against parental control, evidences of normality rather than abnormality. "The two most important aims in the education of boys and girls should be the gradual emancipation from parental control and the achievement of a healthy heterosexuality," Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, declared. "Reckless behavior, while undesirable in itself, is not, in many cases, necessarily a sign of moral depravity, but of a healthy tendency toward normal adulthood. Some of the wild things the adolescent may do may themselves be wrong, but they are the symptoms of the emergence of a very desirable factor in the developmental period of life."

During the mauve decade of the 1890's the interest seemed to be in making people

good, particularly pure, Dr. Williams pointed out. The world seemed to be convinced of the depravity of all human nature and to lack confidence completely in the fine possibilities of a human being if he could be given a chance to grow and develop. Dr. Williams said that today it is recognized that our parents and grandparents got the cart before the horse and that now the thing to do is to see that people are physically and mentally well. If this is done, the rest will take care of itself. The cradle is the proper place to start training a child. Personality and viewpoint of the world are developed in the first two or three years of life rather than at a later age, when failure at proper training may become apparent. In this work the parents have great responsibility, which they are not always ready to assume.

## INTERNATIONAL HEALTH COOPERATION

Nowhere does international cooperation make greater headway than in the work of making the world healthier. Today an epidemic in one part of the world causes an immediate preparation in a distant country to which in spite of its geographical remoteness a fast liner may carry it as rapidly as the mails. Cable and radio beat the germ on its foreign foray. Today the methods of disease control and prevention perfected in one country are quickly applied to another, for experts are given the opportunity to travel from one country to another and through seeing and personal contact absorb for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen the latest weapons for health. Today methods of arousing public conscience and interest that prove successful in one country are shared with all other nations of the world.

The world board of strategy and general staff for health is the health committee of the League of Nations that meets every six months at Geneva. The United States has not consented to sit at the polit-



ical councils of the nations, but we have two representatives on this important board—Surgeon General Cumming of the United States Public Health Service and Dr. Alice Hamilton, professor at the Harvard School of Public Health and an expert upon industrial conditions and diseases. At Geneva a Pole, an Englishman, a German, an American, a Swiss and an Italian are in active charge of the work of the committee which aims at interchange of health statistics, standardization of medical sera and drugs so that a doctor, no matter where he may be, may prescribe the proper quantity and quality of medicine. An American organization—the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation—has played a large part in the inauguration of international health cooperation through aiding governments to secure the best equipment and personnel for public health and promoting health campaigns and research throughout the world. The Red Cross is the symbol of international health cooperation throughout the world. Under its banner propaganda for health has been made world-wide. School children of thirty-seven nations are taught to care for their own health and that of others by the Junior Red Cross. Although primarily health activities are left to the official agencies, the creation in the masses of men, women and children of a desire for a healthier and loftier standard of life is a function of the Red Cross.

#### NITRATES FOR AGRICULTURE

Whereas a decade ago nitrates manufactured out of the air were of intense national importance because they formed the basis of explosives, they are today of international concern to agriculture. America, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Java, Norway and Sweden, at once the chief producers and largest consumers of artificial nitrates, recently sent representatives to a conference at Biarritz, France, for mutual cooperation in the capture of more and more of the vast, scarcely tapped mines of nitrogen in the air all about us, to be chemically fixed and eventually turned into food for the increasing millions of the earth's popula-

tion. Through improved methods in nitrogen fixation and a stabilization of marketing, continuing decreases in fertilizer costs to farmers are in plain prospect, it declared.

Of perhaps even greater importance are the contributions of botanists interested in agriculture. Not content with merely renewing the natural nitrate supplies in the soil, the agricultural scientists are undertaking programs of "forced feeding" of plants, comparable with the fattening-up processes used in preparing animals for the market. Plant physiologists have recently learned that properly calculated overdoses of nitrates will induce plants to produce fruits or heads of grain earlier and in larger quantity than normal. Geneticists are at work in an endeavor to breed new strains that can take up even greater amounts of nitrates than the ordinary breeds of plants now under cultivation are able to use. Professor Erwin Baur and Professor Herman Warmbold of Berlin, and the great Swedish plant breeder Hermann Nilsson-Ehle, declared that a program of several years' experiments could make such "nitrogen-greedy" plant varieties a distinct possibility; and Dr. Karl Bosch of Berlin and Ferdinand Speyer of London stated that the nitrogen industry is planning to spend millions on such research.

Agricultural education in the most advantageous methods of nitrate use has also come in for its share of attention. Especial stress was laid on the desirability of improved methods of distribution of concentrated nitrate fertilizers in regions where transportation facilities are poor, notably in the tropics and in India and China. Improvements in agricultural conditions made possible by the use of cheaper concentrates in regions now periodically threatened with famine are expected to go far to avert these calamities, which in the past have been not only a scourge to the afflicted populations but a cause of social and economic disturbances throughout the world.

#### NEW STARS

What is probably the most distant collision of stars ever seen by man has been recorded in a universe of stars outside our

own Milky Way, and perhaps so far away that light takes millions of years to travel to the earth. Flashing out from previous invisibility to the thirteenth magnitude, bright enough to be seen with a large telescope, a nova or "new star" in a spiral nebula has been discovered at the Heidelberg Observatory in Germany by Professor Max Wolf, the director of the observatory, and his associate, Dr. K. Reinmuth. "New stars" are thought to be caused by stellar collisions. The spiral nebula in which the nova has appeared has no name, but is known as Messier 61, after its number in Messier's catalogue of nebulae and star clusters. It is also known as N. G. C. 4303, after its number in the New General Catalogue of such objects, and is located in the constellation of Virgo, the Virgin.

Although novae, or "new stars," which, from previous invisibility or obscurity, suddenly become more brilliant, are not especially rare, they generally appear in the Milky Way. As our system of stars, or "galaxy," is approximately the shape of a grindstone, with the sun and its accompanying planets located near the centre, when we look in the direction of the grindstone's diameter we see a great mass of stars which form the Milky Way. Novae which appear in the Milky Way, therefore, are in the same system of stars of which the sun is part. The spiral nebulae, of which many thousands are seen in all parts of the sky, except in the region of the Milky Way, where the thick mass of stars obscures them, have been found to be other galaxies, or "universes," similar to ours, but outside its limits, by Dr. Edwin P. Hubble of the Mount Wilson Observatory in California. In a spiral nebula in the constellation of Andromeda, Dr. Hubble has found more than fifty such novae by studying photographs made with the 100-inch telescope at Mount Wilson. By comparing the average brightness of these novae with the average of those which appear in the Milky Way, he has determined the distance of the Andromeda nebula, which is about a million light years. A light year is about six trillion miles—the distance that a beam of light, which travels fast enough to go from Boston to San Francisco in a seventy-fifth of a second, will travel in a year.

According to the Harvard College Ob-

servatory, no new stars have ever been observed before in Messier 61, though they have been seen in a few other spirals. The brightness of the one discovered at Heidelberg, however, is much fainter than the average of those which have been discovered in the Milky Way, so that it is probably as distant as the Andromeda nebula. The outburst of the star, therefore, must have taken place at least a million years ago, though the news of it, borne on the wings of light, has just reached the earth, and since it could be seen at such a vast distance, it must have really been exceedingly bright.

#### INVALUABLE BOOK OF SCIENCE

The fundamental facts and figures upon which physical science is built have been brought together and issued for the use of the world in *International Critical Tables*, the first volume of which has just been issued by the National Research Council and the National Academy of Sciences. Millions of experiments extending over years of time in the various laboratories of the world were necessary to produce the hundreds of pages of explanations and statistics that will be included in the five volumes of the completed work which are being compiled by the editors with the aid of specialists and experts here and abroad. The first volume, just off the press, contains among other valuable information the accumulated data on no less than 9,534 different chemical compounds, the new and old facts on radioactivity, and transmutation, astronomical and geodetic data and a comprehensive discussion of the most recent developments in the field of atomic structure, favorite speculative playground of physicists of the present moment. Along with the international metric system and a listing of the seventy-four countries in which it is now compulsory are the local systems of weights and measures in use in twenty-five still conservative countries. The measure used by the Pharaohs of Egypt and the ancient Chaldeans may likewise be found side by side with their modern equivalent in feet and meters, gallons and liters. Thousands of dollars and many hours of time will be saved the research workers of the present and the future by the use of this collection of necessary and



essential data on a wide variety of allied subjects in one set of volumes.

#### OXYGEN AS GERMICIDE

The very essence of the breath of life, oxygen, may be used as a means of killing germs. A process has been perfected recently by Dr. L. R. Cleveland of the Harvard University Medical School which utilizes oxygen in the sterilization and preservation of fruit juices without injuring their delicate flavor. By the use of the ordinary oxygen gas, such as is sold in cylinders under pressure, Dr. Cleveland can kill all germs and other micro-organisms in periods of from twelve hours to four or five days, depending on the nature and quantity of juice under treatment and the amount of pressure used. In bulk the juices can be enclosed in strong steel drums or barrels, the oxygen run into them up to the proper pressure and the whole stored away indefinitely. In smaller quantities, as in bottles or cans, the containers can be placed in a pressure tank, and then sealed or capped under sterile conditions in an atmosphere of pure oxygen. Although the process is fatal to all microbes if continued long enough, Dr. Cleveland has found that the pathogenes, or disease-causing germs, are the easiest to destroy. High pressures or long exposure periods kill the germs completely, while less drastic treatment will leave them alive but unable to multiply; that is, it will pre-

serve the material without absolutely sterilizing it.

Dr. Cleveland did not discover this process suddenly; it came as the result of a long series of experiments. The first inkling of the principle underlying this new method of preserving fruit juices was discovered while he was studying the minute, one-celled animals or protozoa that live in the digestive tracts of termites or white ants. He wanted to get the insects free of their tiny guests, and tried various methods, including heat treatment, with success. He found finally that if he increased the oxygen present in the atmosphere of the jars in which they were kept, the insects would live while the protozoa inside them died. The difference in the effect of oxygen on the micro-organisms in white ants and on the white ants themselves was very great; the ants survived more than forty times the amount of oxygen required to kill their intestinal guests. Following this Dr. Cleveland very soon discovered that many other animals, including even the cold-blooded vertebrates among the higher animals, lost their protozoa when confined in oxygen. Applications of this principle may be made in combating the diseases of economic insects such as silkworms and bees, in freeing young fish of disease-causing parasites, and in testing out the ability of insects to transmit protozoa and spirochaetes to man, animals and plants.



# Armies and Navies of the World

## THE UNITED STATES

THE development of military and commercial aviation, made possible by the legislation of the last Congress, continues to occupy the most important place on the defense program. On Aug. 13 William P. MacCracken Jr. began his duties as Assistant Secretary of Commerce in charge of aviation, and Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, took this opportunity to make a public statement to the effect that the aim of the Government is to develop a nation-wide system of commercial aviation, financed by private enterprise and sponsored by the Government, which will constitute a valuable military reserve, saving billions of dollars that would otherwise be expended for air defense and at the same time developing business and speeding transportation.

A new type of bombing plane, built for the War Department and intended to displace eventually the Martin bombers now in use, was exhibited for the first time on Aug. 10. This plane will carry five men and five machine guns, capable of warding off air attacks from all sides, with 4,000 pounds of bombs for attacking purposes. It is the result of several years' experimentation and its chief advantage is that 50 per cent. of the final flying weight will be "useful load," an achievement which can be claimed for few combat planes.

Edsel Ford has been awarded the contract for the construction of an experimental duralumin dirigible, the last Congress having appropriated \$300,000 for the purpose after hearing its possibilities discussed.

The War Department on Aug. 18 took the first step in a nation-wide program of building construction for putting the army in permanent quarters when it allotted funds for new structures at seventeen military posts. The program ultimately will provide permanent barracks for the 40,000 enlisted men of the army, the initial outlay being \$7,000,000.

Reports received up to Aug. 17 by the Secretary of War from the 1926 citizens' military training camps held during the Summer showed an enrolment of 33,994

men. Camp Meade in Maryland, with 2,069 students, was the largest.

## GREAT BRITAIN

SINCE the Washington Disarmament Conference Great Britain has completed, started building or projected eighteen cruisers, ten submarines and two destroyers. The net British naval estimates for the last three years are £58,000,000 for 1923-24, £55,800,000 for 1924-25 and £60,500,000 for 1925-26.

The total personnel of the British Air Force was reported in August as being 32,656 men and the machines with reserves totaled 1,053,650 being of the "first-line" type. Thirty-two per cent. of the force was then in Iraq, the Near East and India.

## FRANCE

FRENCH naval experts have estimated that in 1930 the active French Navy, disregarding the existing battleships, which will be out of date by that time, will be composed of four light cruisers of 10,000 tons, three light cruisers of 8,000 tons, six destroyers of 2,700 tons, six destroyers of 2,400 tons, twenty-six torpedo boats of approximately 1,500 tons, sixteen submarines of 1,560 tons, nine submarines of 1,150 tons and fourteen smaller submarines. Their construction is provided for in a series of appropriation bills adopted since the Washington conference in 1921; the last four have amounted to 1,042,841,000 francs, 1,038,237,000 francs, 1,311,062,000 francs and 1,400,000,00 francs, respectively.

The French Air Force, according to reports during August, had then a total personnel of 33,474 and 3,500 machines, of which 1,542 were of "first-line" type.

## RUSSIA

THE present Russian Air Force now has 2,000 machines. In addition twin-engined commercial airplanes, which can be adapted to war purposes and which are constructed for long-distance flights, are being widely developed throughout the country. Professor Iatsuk, an ex-naval officer, who fought in the



Russo-Japanese War, is in supreme control of research and development and is reported to be demanding a Russian air fleet equal in strength to the British Navy. Twelve large aviation schools have been established in which thousands of students are enrolled. Much work is also being done by the All-Russian Volunteer Aircraft Association, a national airplane club, which, it is said, "aims to give young Russia an air sense." Moreover, aviation has been made a compulsory subject in the Russian schools generally, and many have their own model airplane and glider clubs. There are several magazines and journals issued, devoted entirely to the development of flying, some being sponsored by the Government, and an official symposium of the progress of the science all over the world outside Russia is published annually.

#### JAPAN

**J**APAN has spent \$355,000,000 for naval construction on four separate building programs adopted since the Washington conference, the appropriation for 1923 being \$91,000,000; for 1924, \$89,000,000; 1925, \$87,000,000, and 1926, \$88,000,000. According to August reports, the status of the navy was then as follows: First class

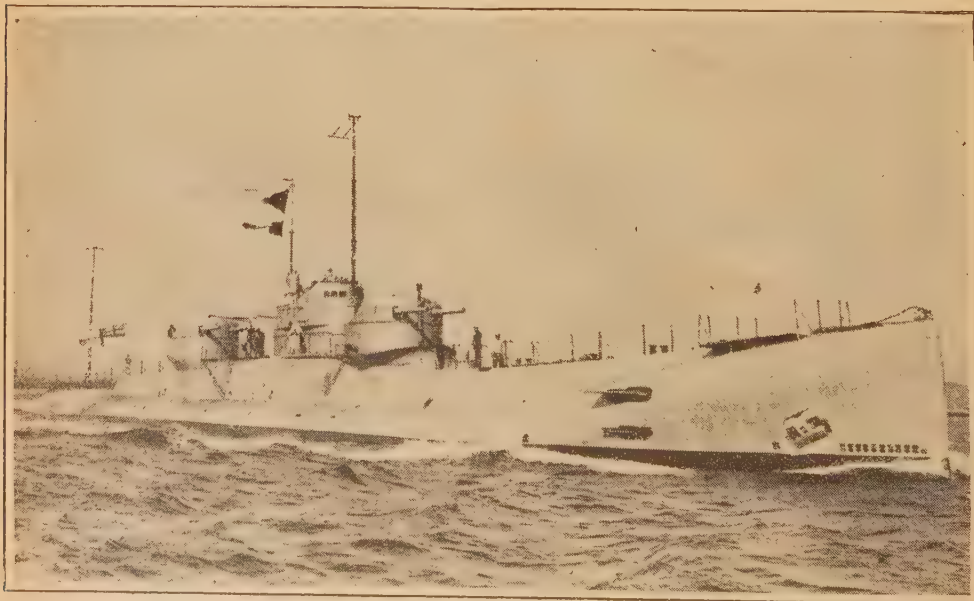
cruisers, built 2, building 8; second class cruisers, built 7; aircraft carriers, built 1, building 1; torpedo mother ships, built 2; first class destroyers, built 11, building 9, ordered 4, projected 12; second class destroyers, built 7; submarines, built 15, building 13, projected 13; mine-sweepers, built 4, projected 2. The navy has demanded that the next Diet sanction a quinquennial construction replacement program totaling \$320,000,000. Last year the program was reduced to \$26,000,000 for the four destroyers ordered.

#### ITALY

**R**EPORTS during August indicated that the Italian Air Force had then a total personnel of 19,924 men, with 1,453 airplanes, 750 of which were of the "first-line" type.

#### SPAIN

**T**HE Spanish Admiralty has created a solid base for the future development of naval aeronautics at Barcelona, where the Naval School possesses landing grounds and a carrier-ship. This school turns out pilots of airplanes and small airships. It is reported, however, as probable that future programs will provide for independent air forces with bases on the coast of Spain.



The X-1, a recently built British submarine which has a displacement of 3,500 tons and which cost nearly \$4,500,000

# CURRENT HISTORY—PART II.

## The Historians' Chronicle of the World

By the Board of Current History Associates

CHAIRMAN: ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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PERIOD ENDED SEPTEMBER 6, 1926

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# Geneva Conference on America's World Court Reservations

*Demands for Permanent Seats on League Council—Italian-Spanish Treaty—  
War Debts Controversy—German Reparation Payments*

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

Librarian, Princeton University

A NEW phase of the question of this country's adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice (popularly known as the World Court) was opened when, on Sept. 1, 2 and 3, a conference of the nations signatory to the World Court Protocol was held at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations and presided over by Professor van Eysinga, a Dutch jurist.

It will be remembered that the United States Senate on Jan. 27, 1926, ratified the World Court Protocol, but with the five following reservations:

1. That such adherence shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations, or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the Treaty of Versailles.

2. That the United States shall be permitted to participate, through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other States, members, respectively, of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, in any and all proceedings of either the Council or the Assembly for the election of Judges or Deputy Judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice, or for the filling of vacancies.

3. That the United States will pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court, as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.

4. That the United States may at any time withdraw its adherence to the said protocol, and that the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

5. That the Court shall not render any advisory opinion, except publicly after due notice to all States adhering to the Court and to all interested States, and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any State concerned; nor shall it without the consent of the United States

entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest.

As President Coolidge is barred from affixing the signature of the United States to the World Court Protocol until all forty-eight signatories accept the Senate reservations, Secretary of State Kellogg sent separate communications to each of those signatories for the purpose of obtaining their acceptance. Up to the assembling of the conference in Geneva on Sept. 1 only seven nations had given their assent to the reservations, namely, Cuba, Greece, Liberia, Uruguay, Albania, Luxemburg and the Dominican Republic. Although the conference was called to consider the American plan of adherence to the World Court, the United States was not represented for the reason set forth in Secretary Kellogg's note to the Secretary General of the League last April. With the approval of President Coolidge, Mr. Kellogg took the stand that the Senate reservations were "plain and unequivocal" and must be accepted by the exchange of notes between the United States and "each" of the forty-eight signatories. Any decision to modify the reservations can not be accepted by the President, but has to be referred to the Senate.

At the first day's meetings of the conference on Sept. 1 the first three reservations were quickly passed as to substance, but objection was raised to the second part of the fourth by Sir George Foster of Canada on the ground that it prevented amendment of the League Constitution without approval of the United States. After considerable discussion, President van Eysinga said that the second part of the fourth reservation contained a point

that touched most closely on the constitutional law of the League, but it was also undoubtedly inspired by the desire to place the United States on the same footing as other nations.

The morning session on Sept. 2 was devoted to an attempt to find a formula to permit of American adhesion to the Court. Two ideas developed, that put forward by Great Britain, France and Italy, who wished the United States to adhere to the Court on exactly the same footing as the Council members, and that expressed by M. Rolin of Belgium, who proposed to ask the World Court for a ruling as to Council procedure in asking an advisory opinion. If then it was found that the American reservations asked preferential treatment, it was thought the Senate would be willing to modify the reservations.

The attitude of the United States, particularly with reference to the fifth reservation, was the subject of an attack by Sir George Foster of Canada at the afternoon session. The American demand, he said, was mandatory and dictatorial. Attention must be given when a country outside the League passed mandatory statutes directed against a court of law and said it could not do such and such a thing. The Council and Assembly were free to make any requests to the Court it pleased. The only limit was when the Court refused to take a case under consideration. It was therefore the duty of the Court to seek information. But the Council and Assembly of the League could not tell the Court if the United States had an interest in the case. The Court must ask the United States Government if it had an interest. The question must be sent by the State Department to the President, but it would not stop there. It would go to the Senate. That meant that the delay would be lengthy, if not interminable. Then came the question if the Court could ask proof of interest. It was certain that the United States, having declared that she did not wish to interfere with the League, would change her reservations if she knew they did interfere. Therefore he thought the United States should be asked to come down to a plane of equality.

Sir Francis Bell of New Zealand also

criticized the American reservations as constituting a demand for preferential treatment. Declaring that the power of veto should not exist, he went on to say that the League Council members were not representatives of their Governments in session at Geneva to protect their own countries, but to protect the world and all countries. No member who exercised the right of veto to protect his own country could retain a seat on the Council. Therefore a nation not on the Council should not enjoy such a right.

Oesten Unden, representing Sweden, one of the champions of the sovereignty of the League Assembly, concluded the debate with the suggestion that the States that were members of the Court should follow the example of the United States and that they themselves make this reservation: "The Americans reserve the right to interpret their reservations. Let us accept, but with the understanding that if the American interpretation proves to be something we cannot accept we will withdraw our acceptance of the United States' adhesion to the Court."

The feature of the concluding day of the conference (Sept. 3) was the support given to the proposal of the Polish representative, Count Rostworowski, that the American reservations be accepted and that then a conference be called to extend the statutes of the World Court to meet the situation created by the American demands. Summing up the discussion, President van Eysinga declared that the first four reservations and the first part of the fifth had been approved on first reading. As no subsequent speaker repudiated Count Rostworowski's suggestion that even the second part of the fifth reservation would be accepted, it was generally assumed that the United States would be allowed to adhere to the World Court on its own terms. The conference then adjourned, leaving a committee of fourteen to study the judicial points involved in the reservations and to report back at a session before the closing of the League of Nations Assembly.

In a dispatch from Paul Smith's, N. Y., on Sept. 3 it was stated that in spite of opposition to the fifth reservation President Coolidge felt that the World Court members would admit the United States



and that that reservation was proper, since all it aimed at was to put this country on a parity with members of the League who had seats on the Council. The President pointed out that to obtain an advisory opinion from the Court there must be a unanimous opinion in the League Council, and therefore one nation could prevent such an opinion and protect itself on a matter in which it was interested. The United States was not a member of the League and had no seat in this Council, and therefore the fifth reservation was made in the protocol by the Senate to place the United States, when it became a member of the Court, on the same basis as other nations protected by membership

#### SEATS ON LEAGUE COUNCIL

At the first meeting of the second session of the commission appointed to consider the reorganization of the Council of the League of Nations, held in Geneva on Aug. 30, Ambassador Palacios, representing Spain, at whose request the meeting was called, made an explanatory statement which was regarded as significant in that it made no mention of any purpose on the part of Spain to withdraw from the League.

The so-called Cecil-Fromageot scheme, embodying the ideas of British, French and German experts, was then discussed and referred to a subcommittee to consider the text. The following day (Aug. 31) the subcommittee adopted the scheme with certain modifications. The Reorganization Commission on Sept. 1 adopted the subcommittee's recommendations, but refused to take a vote on the permanent seats, deciding to pass directly to the Council the minutes of this meeting, at which each nation with the exception of Spain came out frankly against any increase in permanent seats, except for Germany. Further discussion of the scheme, however, took place before the commission completed its report on Sept. 3. The report in its final form recommended that only Germany receive a permanent Council seat at the present time and that the number of non-permanent seats should be increased to nine. It was stipulated that Latin-American States be given three of the non-permanent seats, while the holders of three non-permanent

seats be pronounced eligible for re-election at the expiration of their three-year term. These latter "semi-permanent" seats were decided upon to satisfy Spain, Poland and China, who sought permanent membership.

The forty-first session of the Council of the League of Nations, which opened in Geneva on Sept. 2, was marked only by the absence of the Spanish representative, who had received no instructions from his Government. Although rumors current in Madrid to the effect that Spain intended immediately to withdraw from the League were denied, an official statement issued by the Spanish Government on Sept. 3 concluded with the announcement that Count Quinones de Leon had been instructed to continue to remain absent from the Council meeting.

On Sept. 4 the Council formally adopted the report of its special committee giving a permanent seat to Germany and denying one to Spain, but offering the latter instead a semi-permanent seat. The unsettled political conditions in Spain which immediately followed this announcement made it impossible to predict Spain's future relations with the League. On the other hand, Germany's entrance was assured by this decision of the Council.

Turkey's readiness to join the League has now been communicated to the powers represented on the Council. Mustapha Kemal Pasha has requested Turkey's admission without any stipulations as to a Council seat, but merely on the plea that the Moslem world be represented.

At the meeting of the Council on Sept. 3 Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, and M. Briand, French Foreign Minister, during discussion of the report of the Permanent Mandates Commission, took occasion to chide that body for what they considered its tendency to develop an "inquisitorial spirit." This, they pointed out, was evidenced by the handing out of questionnaires to the mandatory powers and the granting of audiences without previous investigation to determine the good faith of the complaints.

#### ITALIAN-SPANISH TREATY

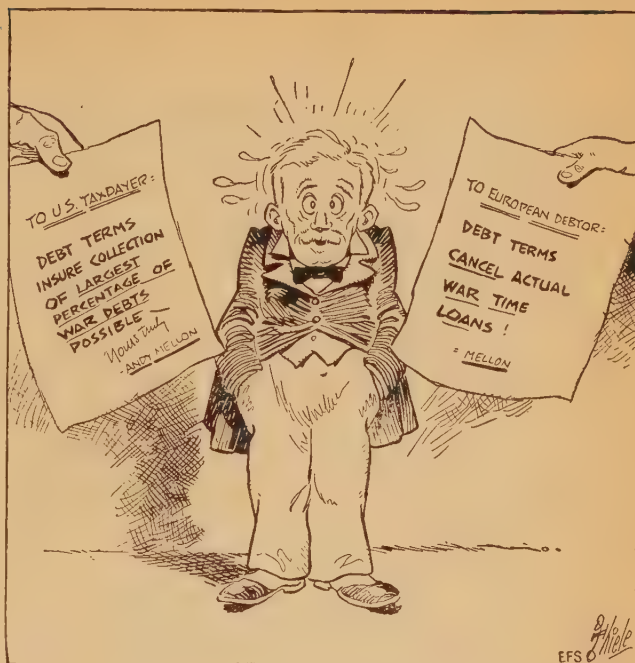
When it was announced that the new treaty of "friendship, arbitration and conciliation" had been signed by the repre-

sentatives of Italy and Spain in Madrid on Aug. 6, a flood of rumors swept over all Europe. Although the text has not yet been published, and although it is reported to be similar in content to treaties recently concluded by Italy with Switzerland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, in the popular mind, at least, it was considered to have a more sinister significance. Many newspapers, both in France and in England, expressed a fear that it represented a conspiracy for the control of the Mediterranean. Without doubt such a struggle is on. Ever since the war France has been straining to extend her influence in that quarter, for it means to her the avenue of communication with her African colonies, the reserve on which, economically and strategically, she depends.

To Great Britain it means the route to India, the road to Mosul and to the Sudan. To Italy the sea is like the air above her—a necessity of life. If Spain's interest is less concrete, it has nevertheless great sentimental values. Feeling her own weakness, she must continually assert that she is one of the great powers and never fail to make every gesture that will declare it.

So far as the substance of the treaty is known, it is not of a very exciting nature. As announced on Aug. 13 by Yanguas, the Spanish Foreign Minister, it provides that differences between the two countries, not capable of adjustment through the ordinary diplomatic channels, are to be submitted, first to a conciliation commission and afterward to The Hague or to some other arbitrator. Article 13 provides for reciprocal neutrality in case either is attacked by a third power. The treaty is to continue for ten years, and if not denounced during the last six months of the period is automatically renewed for five-year terms.

Although Primo de Rivera's statement—



Well, that's my story and I stick to it!

—Sioux City Tribune

one might almost say demand—that Spain should have full control at Tangier may not have been a consequence of the Spanish-Italian treaty, European opinion certainly connects the two things, and it is not satisfied with the denials that have been issued by both of the Foreign Offices. No direct evidence of the connection has, however, been presented.

The Spanish dictator on Aug. 15 took the unusual course of giving an interview to a daily newspaper in which he declared that it was unjust that the Tangier zone, surrounded as it was by the Spanish protectorate in Morocco, should be excluded from it, and that if it were not granted to Spain the occupation of Morocco was not worth what it is costing. "The rest of Europe," he said, "will not be free from the weight of Tangier until it is fully handed over to Spain. Those who do not see this are blind, since it will not be long before Tangier is the centre of grave international conflicts." To the British Tangier is first cousin of Gibraltar and cannot be considered without relation to it. Primo de Rivera's statement disturbed



them very greatly. They felt that his voice was adopting the strident tone of Mussolini.

Apparently unaffected by the furor he had created, the Spanish Premier followed his earlier statement by another printed in the *Nación* on Aug. 19, in the course of which he asserted that his Government had "repeatedly expressed to the British and French Governments its desire to have Tangier included in the Spanish zone," and that the present situation was inconsistent with Spanish national dignity.

These interviews were followed by the dispatch of formal notes expressive of the same ideas to the British, French and Italian Governments. Briand immediately consulted with the ambassadors of the powers concerned, and on Aug. 27 he replied in a note which stated that, although he was quite willing to discuss the Spanish claims, he could not admit the right of Spain to hold Tangier either as a mandate or in exclusive jurisdiction. Great Britain and Italy replied in the same terms.

As regards British interests, it may be well to keep in mind that Primo de Rivera, in 1918, suggested that Spain should retire from Africa and exchange Ceuta, which the experts seem to think has more actual value strategically, for Gibraltar, perennially a thorn in the Spanish side. He was demoted in consequence of the speech, but it is possible that he still believes in its wisdom.

The Moroccan Sultan's representative, the Mendub, who was absent from Tangier with the Sultan in France when the question of the Tangier international mixed police abuses was discussed in the Legislative Assembly, has, since his return, gone thoroughly into the matter. The result of his inquiry proves that a state of corruption exists among the mixed police force and the abuses are much more serious than was suspected. These abuses are of long standing and it is clear that every endeavor was made systematically to hush them up.

#### ABYSSINIA'S SOVEREIGNTY

The Abyssinian situation has had as yet no material development. The League on Aug. 14 received a note from the Italian Government declaring, as had Great Britain

a few days before, that no attack was being made on the sovereignty of Abyssinia, that the agreement related solely to a question of procedure in correlating the interests of Italy and Great Britain; and that the measures proposed would be beneficial to the economic and social progress of Abyssinia. The incident has raised the very interesting question as to whether "spheres of influence" within a sovereign power, a member of the League, are consistent with the principles of that body. The League has recognized, in the mandate system, the principle of equality of treatment for all nations. "Exclusive economic influence," such as is proposed for Italy in the letters exchanged, would seem to be in contravention of this rule.

#### PREPARATORY DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

The discussions of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission have continued and some progress has been made. In general, France, with the seven smaller countries which follow her lead, has controlled the result of the vote. By a series of decisions, on Aug. 9, 13 and 19, the French plan for the creation of a board for the international control of armaments was adopted. The American delegation had given notice that the United States would never agree to the plan and had stated that, as the success of all such agreements must rest on mutual confidence, the plan for such control would be "more calculated to defeat attempts at international amity and confidence than to bring about such a state of mind." A minority report, presenting the views of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, Chile and Sweden, was filed on Aug. 19. For several days, there was a discussion of aircraft, the Germans maintaining that there is a fundamental difference between civil and military equipment. On Aug. 13 this contention was defeated. There seems to be some doubt as to the status of the question regarding the reckoning of economic resources in the determination of military strength. After what seemed to be an adverse decision, the issue has again been raised.

Secretary of State Kellogg made a notable speech at Plattsburg on Aug. 19, in which he denied that the United States

Government had any thought of retiring from the conference on account of its failure to arrive at satisfactory conclusions and stated that its primary purpose was "essentially for the exploration of ideas"; and that it must discuss and examine every proposal with an open mind. "Only after a complete survey of all angles of the question can the ground be cleared for ultimate decision; and meanwhile this country is willing to contribute its patience as well as its zeal to the success of the enterprise." He reiterated his belief in the desirability of regional agreements and in a program of modest beginnings; and opposed the attempt to weigh the economic potentialities of a country in determining the scale of its armaments. In general, European comment on the address was most favorable.

It is still too early to estimate the final effect of Clémenceau's letter of Aug. 8, in which he appealed to America not to consider the French war debt as a purely business proposition. It may have been, as one English journal said, "spectacularly unhelpful," but on the other hand it may act as a counter-irritant and bring about more healthful conditions. Senator Borah's reply, issued on Aug. 11, had its customary bluntness. After characterizing some of the former French Premier's statements as misleading and others as absurd, he continued: "If they want to cancel their debts, let them include all debts and all reparations and show that the benefit of the cancellation will go to humanity and to the betterment of the masses of Europe and not to the benefit of the imperialistic schemes which are now crushing the life out of people who were in no way responsible for the war."

Undoubtedly the Clémenceau letter stiffened the backs of those Frenchmen who do



A NEW CHALLENGER FOR THE HEAVYWEIGHT BELT  
—New York Herald Tribune

not believe in ratification. As yet Poincaré has shown no sign of intent to press the matter. On one day the newspapers have predicted the acceptance of the agreement, on the next its rejection. Borah's suggestion as to cancellation was naturally seized upon most eagerly. Bunau-Varilla printed in *Le Figaro* on Aug. 15 an open letter to F. W. Peabody, the substance of which was a proposal that America should cancel all the debts of the Associated Powers on two conditions, "first, that each ally in turn will cancel all the debts of its allies; second, that two-thirds of the sums paid by Germany under the Dawes plan be returned and the remaining third used partially to compensate for war damages." Bardoux, in *L'Avenir* on the same day, suggested that France should propose general cancellation except for the 16,000,000 marks of German industrial and railway bonds, which should go to the



United States Treasury. Lucien Romier, the editor of *Le Figaro*, on Aug. 21 proposed another scheme for the use of these bonds for a final settlement. In an interview on Aug. 29, Clémenceau said that he was well satisfied with the effect of his letter.

The statement of Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War in the Wilson Administration, published on Aug. 29, excited extended comment both here and abroad. He argued that all the reparation arrangements and debt settlements had been made in an atmosphere of passion and unreality, without sufficient understanding of their ultimate results, and concluded by expressing his belief that a policy of mutual cancellation would be wise and that this cancellation should include in part, at least, the obligations imposed upon Germany. It was stated that Mr. Baker's views had no support in Administration circles. Settlement of the war debts, it was pointed out, has been emphasized by Mr. Coolidge in messages to Congress and in speeches as necessary to the stabilization of European finances and as an obligation to American taxpayers that must be met. It was declared that this policy would not be modified in any respect while the settlement terms with France were pending, and not at all unless conditions in Europe should make it patent that the debts could not be paid without destroying the economic fabric of the debtor nations.

#### GERMAN REPARATION PAYMENTS

Germany met nearly 54 per cent. of her reparation payments in the second year of the operation of the Dawes plan, ended on Aug. 31, by means of deliveries of materials. This, it was stated on that date, will be shown in the report of S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General for Reparation Payments, to be published about Nov. 15. The total payments amounted to 1,220,000,000 gold marks (about \$290,360,000), and the deliveries in kind 656,800,000 gold marks (about \$156,318,000). More than one-third of these deliveries were of coal, coke and lignite.

A statement issued on behalf of Mr. Gilbert in Berlin on Sept. 1 stated: "With the payment this morning of 45,000,000

gold marks by the German Railway Company, Germany has made payment of the full annuity of 1,220,000,000 gold marks provided for in the second year of the experts' plan, except for a small balance of about 8,095,000 gold marks on account of the transport tax, which does not become due until Sept. 21, 1926. Today's payment by the German Railway Company represents the balance due on Sept. 1, 1926, on account of the second year's interest on its reparation bonds. Germany is thus faithfully performing her obligations and has made punctually the payments falling due during the second year of the plan."

Receipt of \$5,900,000 from Mr. Gilbert for German reparations payments, representing the annual payments due the United States for the liquidation of the American war-time claims against Germany, was announced by Under Secretary of the Treasury Winston on Sept. 2. This is the first payment the United States Government has received under the operation of the Dawes plan. To date the Treasury has been credited with approximately \$14,000,000 by Germany on account of the cost of the American army of occupation, and the United States is to receive about \$12,000,000 a year until the \$250,000,000 obligation is settled.

#### EUROPEAN STEEL TRUST

The plans for the formation of a European steel trust have been delayed. Although the negotiations which have been going on for months have been carried on quietly, practically all the details were reported in the press before the semi-public meeting in Paris on Aug. 12. The countries concerned are Germany, France, Belgium and Luxemburg, and the initial quotas allotted to each are to be: Germany, 43.22 per cent.; France and Luxemburg, 39.45; Belgium, 11.60, and the Saare, 0.73. The remaining 5 per cent. is understood to be reserved for Poland, Austria and Czechoslovakia, though possibly for another purpose. These quotas are to be revised periodically.

Great Britain, Italy and other countries of smaller production were invited to join in the agreement, but thus far they have declined. The British refusal was on the

ground that, as her present production was subnormal, she did not wish to be limited by it; and for the further reason that the Continental nations would not admit that the British Dominions were to be treated as colonies and excluded from the international trade area. It is not impossible, however, that Great Britain may later enter the association. Italy has been unwilling to join on the ground that she did not wish to be bound by the terms of any international agreement. American steel companies do not appear in the negotiations, but it is understood that they will be concerned with a part of the German quota.

An interesting feature of the plan is the provision that each country is to pay into a common insurance fund \$1 per ton for its quota production and \$4 for each ton of production above the quota. Into this fund goes also a percentage added to the sale price. Out of it are to be paid, during stagnant periods of trade, bonuses which will enable plants to pay their workmen and to provide for overhead. A significant corollary of the agreement will be that each country will be advised of the amount of steel used by the others for war material. It had been expected that the negotiations would be concluded without further delay, but on Aug. 16 it was announced that the conference had adjourned for a month to allow time to compose certain differences among the Belgian manufacturers. The Belgian Government is actively interested in urging them to reach an agreement.

#### EUPEN AND MALMEDY

The agitation in Germany for the return of Eupen and Malmédy, two small territories which were handed to Belgium at the close of the World War, has been going on for some time. Finally, it was openly charged in Allied circles that the German Government was secretly carrying on negotiations with Belgium. As late as Aug. 21 the Reich authorities denied this allegation. Subsequently it was semi-officially stated that parleys were under way between the two countries, but that these did not take the form of official conversations. In diplomatic circles it was intimated that the Briand Government was

aware of the parleys and made no objections, but as soon as Poincaré came into power he sabotaged the plan, first by stating that all the signatory powers of the Versailles Treaty would have to be consulted, and secondly that the question must be first submitted to the League of Nations. According to the reactionary *Lokal Anzeiger* of Berlin, Belgium was willing to part with the territories on condition that Germany assume Belgium's debt to Holland.

#### FRENCH PROTEST TO TURKEY

The resentment felt by the French Government over the arrest by Turkish authorities of Lieutenant Desmons of the French merchant ship *Lotus*, which sank a Turkish cargo boat, with loss of several lives, took an official form on Sept. 2 when energetic protests made to the Turkish Government by the French Chargé d'Affaires were accompanied by a demand for a large indemnity. On Sept. 4 the French Government accepted the Turkish proposal to submit the dispute to the World Court for settlement.

#### INTERNATIONAL LAW CONGRESS

The Congress of the International Law Association, which ended its sessions at Vienna on Aug. 11, was particularly notable for its initiation of a movement for the institution of an International Criminal Court. The scheme, first proposed by Dr. Bellot at the Buenos Aires conference in 1922, was further discussed at the Stockholm meeting in 1924. It has now been approved and is to be submitted to the League of Nations as a definite program.

The Congress also adopted resolutions recommending that the petitions of minorities addressed to the League should be given publicity, and that the petitioners should have the right of reply to the Government's answer; that private property should be secure from confiscation without compensation, whether in peace or in war; that the three-mile limit of national maritime jurisdiction should be maintained, except where it is extended by international agreement; and that pursuit, begun in territorial waters, may be continued on the high seas, but not into other territorial waters.



## Congressional Election Issues

*Farmers' Demand for Tariff Revision—Fewer Federal Employees—Curbing the Trusts—"Coolidge Prosperity"—New Plans for Prohibition Enforcement  
—Death of Charles W. Eliot*

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

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THE activities of midsummer politics have failed to give any clear indication as yet of the political complexion of the next Congress, although predictions have continued to be made that the Republican majorities in both branches of Congress would be reduced and that the Senate would be Democratic. No outstanding issue has developed to dominate the Congressional primaries in the States, although in a number of instances the local contests have been keen. A speech of Senator Butler of Massachusetts, Republican, on Aug. 21, in which the Democrats were charged with "banking everything on their attempt to tear down Calvin Coolidge \* \* \* beginning in his own State," was regarded as of special significance because of the fact that Senator Butler, in addition to being a close personal friend of the President, is also Chairman of the Republican National Committee. The speech was interpreted in some quarters as virtually an announcement that Mr. Coolidge would be a candidate to succeed himself in 1928. Aside from an understanding, however, that Mr. Coolidge would continue to exercise a certain general leadership of the Republican Congressional campaign, and perhaps suggest the main issues, there has been nothing to show that the President intended to depart from his policy of non-interference with State matters and refusal to endorse particular candidates for any office.

A disturbing feature of the situation, as far as the work of the Republican managers is concerned, appears to be the fact that, though Mr. Coolidge is obviously more popular than his party, none of the events or accomplishments of his Administration have a sufficiently dramatic charac-

ter to arouse general or continued enthusiasm among the voters. Such intimations as have been given out in Republican quarters have suggested that Republican leaders, while continuing to stress the issue of economy, were inclined to lay greater emphasis upon the general prosperity of the country, and that tariff reduction would be opposed less because of devotion to the protective principle than upon the practical ground that what was well enough had better be left alone. On the other hand, the revelations of lavish expenditure and questionable practices in the Senatorial primaries in Pennsylvania and Illinois have given some prominence to corruption as an opposition argument; the legislation of Congress has been dissected to show that appropriations were increased and receipts from internal taxes have grown, and Senator Capper of Kansas, Republican, was reported to have told Mr. Coolidge on Aug. 20 that, although the farmers of the Middle West "have no desire to tear down the tariff structure," the Western members of Congress "will make a demand for a revision of the tariff law in the next Congress to carry out their ideas of adequate protection for the farmer." It was at once pointed out, however, in reply to Senator Capper's assertion, that the next session of Congress will expire by limitation on March 4, and that it was unlikely that so important a subject as tariff revision would receive attention during the short session.

Some interest attached to a proposal of Representative Madden of Illinois, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House, which was laid before President Coolidge on Aug. 24, to apply the approximate \$150,000,000 of interest payments

on foreign debts to a reduction of taxes instead of to a reduction of the national debt. According to Mr. Madden, the use of these interest payments to effect a reduction of the debt is not authorized by law, only the payments on account of principal, about \$50,000,000, being properly applicable to that purpose. It is unfair to the present generation, he was quoted as saying in substance, to make it carry "the entire burden of the war" by discharging the debt years before the payments from Europe would cease, instead of applying the foreign interest payments to the current expenses of the Government and thereby providing some further relief from taxation. The Treasury Department promptly made known its "unalterable opposition" to Mr. Madden's plan, and its reluctance, notwithstanding a surplus revenue, to recommend any additional reduction in taxes until the permanent revenue to be derived from the existing law is better known.

Preliminary estimates of the budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1928, made public on Aug. 11 after a conference between President Coolidge and Herbert H. Lord, Director of the Budget, showed an increase of probable expenditures of \$55,000,000 over the appropriations for the current fiscal year. The excess, which was ascribed mainly to appropriations voted by Congress during the last days of the session, stood at first at \$75,000,000, the reduction of \$20,000,000 having been effected, it was said, by Mr. Coolidge, who cut down the department estimates by that amount. The total amount allocated by the budget to the various branches of the Federal service, not including the receipts of the Post Office Department, was \$3,270,000,000.

A reduction of 4,013 in the number of Federal employes during the year was reported by the Civil Service Commission on Aug. 17. The total number of employes on June 30 was 560,705, of which number 60,811 were in the District of Columbia. A saving to the Government of \$925,280 during the year by small economies, more than one-fourth of the amount being credited to the six New England States, was reported by the Director of the Budget on Aug. 21.

An unusual step was taken by Postmas-

ter General New on Aug. 18 in the issuance of a notice, copies of which were ordered to be displayed conspicuously in all post-offices, stating the conditions under which postmasters and postal employes may take part in politics. A postmaster, the notice reads, "should not make himself offensive politically or otherwise to any party or group of persons he is obliged to serve." The status of Presidential, or fourth class, postmasters, it was pointed out, "is somewhat different from that of persons in the classified civil service," although the Federal statutes which forbid a Federal official to solicit or handle campaign funds, and Presidential orders debarring civil servants from active participation in campaigns, apply to Presidential postmasters as well as to others. The political activities of such officials, however, "are not restricted in the degree that those in the classified service are, and they are allowed to take such a part in the political campaigns as is taken by any private citizen." The particular occasion of the notice was not stated.

The question of farm relief, which in July appeared to threaten trouble for the Administration, has attracted less attention since the adjournment of the Corn Belt Conference. It was reported at the middle of August that a farm relief program, "more far-reaching than any of the Administration proposals yet made," was under consideration and would be announced within the next six weeks, but a report which shortly became current to the effect that the plan contemplated the formation of a private fund of \$100,000,000 by bankers, insurance companies and mortgage loan organizations "to assist the farmers in the extension of the cooperative marketing system to conserve surplus crops" was repudiated on behalf of Mr. Coolidge as something of which he had no knowledge.

"Frozen assets" in the form of heavy bank loans, although a matter for financial institutions rather than the Government to deal with, were cited by Secretary of Agriculture Jardine on Aug. 21 as one of the causes of the farmers' ills. The case of Minnesota, where half of the capital of the banks, estimated at \$30,000,000, was said to be tied up in farm loans, was in-



stanced as an example. Without committing himself to the same view of tariff revision as was expressed by Senator Capper, Secretary Jardine was quoted as saying that "the farmers feel that the tariff is not working as effectively for them as for the industrialists," and that "they want more protection for their products and some revision of the tariff."

### CURBING THE TRUSTS

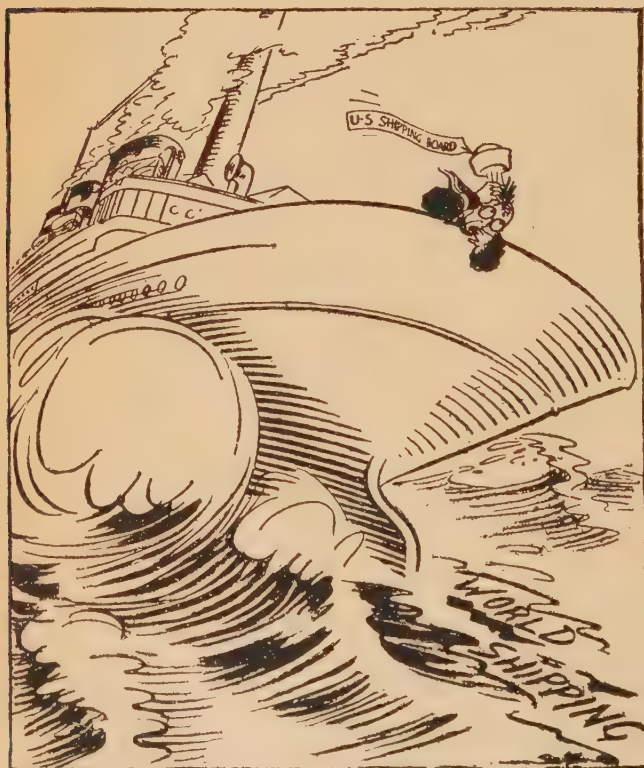
In anticipation, it would seem, of the reported intention of the Democrats to make the alleged subservience of the Administration to "Wall Street" and "big business" one of the issues in the Congressional campaigns, President Coolidge let it be known unofficially on Aug. 21 that he heartily approved of the course which the Department of Justice had pursued in dissolving corporations organized in violation of the anti-trust laws. The principal feature of the policy, as emphasized by Mr.

Coolidge, was "the practice of proceeding against so-called monopolies before they were actually formed, and compelling them to dissolve or modify the charters to bring them within the law by consent decrees." Fines to an amount of more than \$520,000, it was said, had been imposed in trust cases during the past year without departing from the policy of non-interference with business, big or little, as such. Mr. Coolidge's statement was amplified the next day by the Department of Justice, which issued an extended review of its anti-trust activities during the year and cited the more important cases with which the Government had successfully dealt.

### ELECTORAL CONTESTS

With predictions freely made of a Democratic majority in the next Senate, interest in the Congressional campaigns has naturally centred particularly in the State primaries and nominating conventions. The

nomination of former Senator Atlee Pomerene in Ohio was regarded as significant because of frequent mention of Mr. Pomerene as a Democratic candidate for the Presidential nomination in 1928. Senator Gooding of Idaho, Republican, was renominated by a State convention on Aug. 23. Incomplete returns available when this review was prepared indicated the renomination of Senator Shortridge, a Coolidge Republican and supporter of the World Court, in California, in spite of the active opposition of Senator Hiram Johnson. Senator Smith of South Carolina, who led both of his opponents in the Democratic primary in that State on Aug. 31, failed to obtain a majority over both, and the choice of a candidate was to be made at a "run-off" primary on Sept. 14. Senator Stanfield of Oregon, who was defeated



SAM DIDN'T RAISE HIS BOY TO BE A SAILOR!

—*Courier, Liverpool*

for renomination in the Republican primary in May, announced on Aug. 31 that he would again be a candidate if the nomination, which under the State law may be made by the voters directly notwithstanding the primary system, were tendered to him by Sept. 7.

To what extent the Congressional campaigns have been affected by the prohibition issue is difficult to determine. In a number of States the issue has been only one of several, while among the candidates for the Senate or House of Representatives are to be found not only avowed "wets" and "drys," but others who opposed either the Eighteenth Amendment or the Volstead act but have not urged the modification or repeal of the prohibitory legislation. The question has proved particularly troublesome to the Democrats, the Southern States in general favoring prohibition, while many Northern Democrats incline to be "wet."

The only State whose Gubernatorial campaign has attracted nation-wide attention is Texas. Contrary to the first reports, the Democratic primary in July, while returning a heavy vote for Attorney General Dan Moody in his contest with Governor Miriam Ferguson, did not give him the majority required to insure his nomination, and a "run-off" primary was held on Aug. 28 in which Governor Ferguson was overwhelmingly beaten. The result was generally viewed as marking the end of family Government in Texas.

#### "COOLIDGE PROSPERITY"

The intimation that the Republicans were preparing to emphasize "Coolidge prosperity" more than "Coolidge economy" as a campaign slogan has not only given political as well as economic significance to the state of agriculture, industry and trade, but has also, apparently, served to stimulate prediction as to whether or not the general prosperity which the country has enjoyed for a number of months will continue for the remainder of the year, or at least until after the elections. With prophecy as such this review is not concerned, but the forecasts of competent observers, based upon a study of economic experience in the past, are always to be

reckoned with because of their influence in forming public opinion and determining the action of voters at the polls.

In most branches of industry and trade the period under review has continued to show sustained and substantial activity. Employment conditions in July, the latest month for which statistical returns were available, were characterized by the Department of Labor on Aug. 12 as "fairly satisfactory," the slight decreases in operations and employment being due to the usual midsummer slackening. A small decline in building as compared with June did not occasion much unemployment, while municipal work and road construction, the latter aided by Federal grants, continued to call for large numbers of skilled and unskilled workers. The boot and shoe industry, especially in New England, continued on a part-time basis but with some improvement late in August, a number of closed mills were reopened, the seasonal operations of canning factories offered substantial opportunities for employment, and metal mining in the mountainous districts increased. The textile industries, on the other hand, have shown little change for the better, and some large industries in or near New York have been vexed with strikes.

The weekly reviews of trade agencies and the occasional statements of banks continued to comment in August upon the generally strong condition of Summer business. Railroad car loadings, usually regarded as one of the important indices of prosperity, made new high records notwithstanding a long period of million-car weeks, and most of the large railway companies and a number of small ones reported substantial gains in net revenue. A saving by the railways of \$193,842,000 in fuel cost over a period of five years was cited as a significant achievement of industrial economy. The composite net earnings of ten leading automobile companies showed a gain of about 40 per cent. in the first six months of the year over the corresponding months of 1925, and the optimistic forecasts of the company officials appeared to be borne out by the published statements of production and shipments.

Such apprehension as was expressed in



financial or business circles concerned itself chiefly with the probable volume of Fall trade, a decline in wholesale trade at the same time that retail trade showed gains, a moderate falling off in the prices of commodities and securities, and reports that the enhanced volume of trade was being obtained at a smaller margin of profit. Some anxiety was also exhibited regarding the large volume of instalment buying, notably of automobiles, and the possible influence of higher money rates in checking speculation. On the whole, however, the expert forecasts were favorable, and by so much as the business outlook was regarded as good, apprehension of adverse results from the Congressional elections tended to disappear.

The most disquieting aspect of the situation was the continued drop in the prices of farm products. According to the Department of Agriculture, the farm price index on Aug. 15 stood at 132 per cent. of the pre-war level, a decline of 20 points, or about 13 per cent., since August, 1925, and the lowest level reached in nearly two years. The purchasing power of farm products also fell off, the level in July being the lowest since December, 1924. The volume of the harvest of agricultural staples was still a matter of conjecture when this review was prepared, but in general the outlook was regarded as good.

#### PROHIBITION

It would be a barren month that did not see either some new attack upon the principle or policy of national prohibition, or else some fresh effort on the part of the Government to make the system more effective. It is the latter that has recently been most in evidence. The conclusion by General Lincoln C. Andrews in July of an agreement with Great Britain looking to some restriction of the contraband trade in liquors was followed on Aug. 18 by the announcement of a forthcoming conference with the Canadian Minister of Customs regarding the registration of vessels and other matters connected with illegal liquor traffic across the border, and by reports of increased activity on the part of the border patrol. Increased funds for prohibition enforcement, to be obtained in part by cutting down the budget estimates for

the army and navy, and with \$50,000,000 a year as the ultimate aim, were forecast on Aug. 12 in an inspired statement from Mr. Coolidge's Summer camp in the Adirondacks. Two days later plans were announced for dividing the country into five sections, in place of the present twenty-two prohibition districts, with a liaison officer in each section through whom the head of the prohibition unit would be kept informed of what was going on.

Forty customs inspectors acting as prohibition agents began on Aug. 23 the task of preventing the smuggling of liquors on ocean liners at the Port of New York. As an inducement to tipsters, attention was called to the fact that the Government is authorized by law to pay for information leading to the seizure of smuggled goods, the payment being a percentage of the value of the goods seized with an upward limit of \$50,000. A wholesale suspension on Aug. 27 of permits for the distribution of sacramental wine in New York City, designed to end alleged fraud and to put the distribution of such wine in the hands of recognized representatives of Jewish congregations, evoked a vigorous protest on behalf of the three rabbinical associations in the city.

An effort to prevent the submission to the voters at the coming election in New York of the question of recommending to Congress a modification of the prohibitory laws was defeated on Aug. 13 by the State Supreme Court, which in a sweeping decision upheld the constitutionality of the law providing for the referendum. A resolution favoring such modification of the Volstead act as would permit the sale of beer and wine was voted by the New York State Federation of Labor at Niagara Falls on Aug. 26.

#### NATIONAL AIRWAYS APPROVED

Two national airways, the Transcontinental Airway from New York to the Pacific Coast and the Southwestern Airway from Chicago to the Southwest, were approved by President Coolidge on Aug. 13. The routes are the first to be formally established under a recent act of Congress for the encouragement of commercial aviation. "The major purpose at the moment," Secretary of Commerce Hoover was quoted

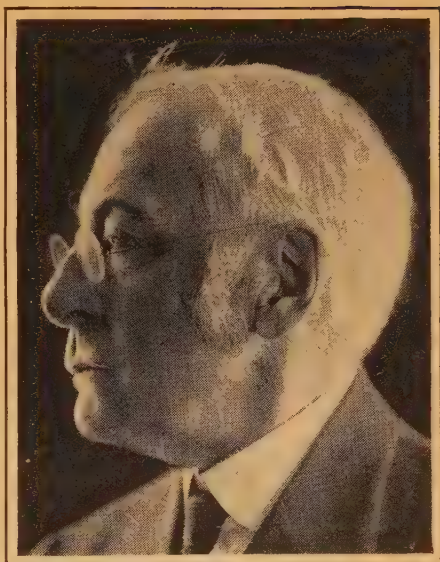
as saying, "is for the value of commercial aviation as a military reserve, shifting the burden of development and maintenance from private enterprise to the Government."

#### DEATH OF CHARLES W. ELIOT

Dr. Charles William Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, died at his Summer home at Northeast Harbor, Me., on Aug. 22 at the age of 92. President of Harvard for forty years, from 1869 to 1909, he transformed an ancient college into one of the foremost of modern universities, introducing and developing the elective system in place of the old required curriculum, encouraging and broadening graduate and professional study, raising the standards of scholarship and teaching ability in the various faculties, and enormously expanding the financial endowment and material equipment in all departments of the university work. His annual reports, throughout his Presidency, ranked as the most important educational documents of the year and were widely read and even more widely discussed.

Dr. Eliot's accomplishment at Harvard was not achieved without opposition, and he was long denounced as an innovator. As time went on, however, the wide adoption by other American colleges and universities of the educational principles and methods which he had formulated or applied won for him universal respect and personal regard, and for years before his career as President ended he enjoyed undisputed primacy among American educators. The new spirit of which he was the exponent extended also to the secondary schools, and the reorganization and expansion of so much of secondary education in the United States as had to do with preparation for college was largely due to his influence and persistent interest.

Upon his retirement from the Presidency of Harvard, in 1909, Dr. Eliot was offered by President Taft the post of Ambassador to Great Britain, but the offer was declined because of his reluctance to assume further



Bachrach

THE LATE DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT  
President Emeritus of Harvard University

official responsibilities. The remaining years of his life were spent mainly in writing, varied by occasional public addresses, and his views on public questions, expressed in language notable for its clearness and force, commanded wide attention. To this period belongs his most conspicuous literary undertaking, the editorship of the Harvard Classics, popularly known as the "Five-Foot Bookshelf." The World War found him an active but unembittered partisan of the Allies, and he supported President Wilson and the League of Nations.

It was Dr. Eliot's fortune to possess a commanding presence and a forceful and distinguished personality. Social position and influence were his by birth, and to them were added a rare intellectual and moral culture, an understanding interest in men of every class, a deep though unconventional concern for religion, great physical vitality nurtured and conserved by regular exercise and avoidance of excess, and, in his own happy phrase, "a calm temperament, expectant of good."



# Mexican President Accused of Bolshevism by Church

*Expulsion of Priests Called Illegal—Calles Continues to Enforce Decrees—  
Church to Use Rights of Petition—Our Government Continues Hands-Off  
Policy—Nicaraguan Rebels Defeated—Three U. S. Cruisers Protect Our  
Interests*

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas

AFTER the withdrawal of the priests on July 31 and the taking over of the churches on the next day by civil committees, the Church and State conflict narrowed down to a controversial "battle of words." The defense of the Government's action was probably most ably set forth by President Calles in two interviews on Aug. 1 and Aug. 7 and by Minister of the Interior Tejada in a statement on Aug. 11. The position of the Episcopate was likewise best set forth in an interview granted by Bishop Díaz, Secretary and official spokesman of the Episcopate, on Aug. 8; in a statement addressed to the American people on Aug. 11 by the Episcopate for the purpose of refuting "false statements and imputations" alleged to have been made by Mexican officials; and lastly in a reply by the Episcopate on Aug. 13 to Minister Tejada's statement. A series of public debates was also held in a principal theatre in Mexico City between Cabinet officials and defenders of the policy of the Episcopate. These debates, which aroused great interest in Mexico, were conducted in an orderly and dignified manner. In addition to being fully reported in the metropolitan press, they were broadcast by radio.

A letter from the Episcopal Committee to President Calles, on Aug. 16, and the reply of the President on Aug. 19 continued the negotiations between Church and State.

The first letter was prefaced with a denial that the Archbishops and Bishops were in rebellion against the Government and with a lengthy exposition of the reasons why they had theretofore not made use of

"the right of petition" against the laws of which they disapproved. The committee then requested President Calles to use his influence "so that there may be reform in the most effective manner of the articles referred to." Since it would require time to effect the desired reform, the Episcopal Committee petitioned President Calles to "suspend the application of the \* \* \* law and of the constitutional articles so that the Church, school instructors and public charities may again enjoy the usual guarantees." More specifically the committee requested "the following liberties: That we as Christians, as citizens of a civilized nation and as men have the right of conscience, of thought, of creed, of education, of teaching, of association, and of the press."

In his reply President Calles advised that he was "the least fitted person to comply with the said petition and to undertake the constitutional abolitions and amendments requested," since they were "in perfect accord" with his own "philosophical and political convictions." This, he said, explained his "refusal to abrogate or nullify the amendments to the Penal Code." In view of such refusal on his part, however, President Calles suggested that if the prelates desired to amend the Constitution they might address a petition "to the Deputies and Senators of the Federal Congress or to the local legislatures"; if they believed that the decree of July 3 "goes further than the provisions of the Constitution allow," they might apply to the Federal courts for an injunction in such cases where the law might overstep the constitutional limits. In

conclusion, President Calles promised not to hinder, as Federal Executive, "legal action seeking the amendment of the laws." "Satisfaction over the general tone" of the President's letter and the "spirit of conciliation" in which it was written were expressed in a statement issued by the Episcopate on Aug. 20. The Episcopate also announced that it was "disposed to exhaust all the legal requirements" mentioned by the President. The statement concluded with the hope that "the glory of inaugurating a period of harmony will be the President's."

At a conference between President Calles and officials of the Episcopate on Aug. 21 the President is reported to have taken the stand that the churches might remain open while the Catholics were seeking by legal methods to have the Constitution amended. This offer was rejected by the prelates, however, since the Church refuses to admit the Government ownership of the churches. Nevertheless, the Church was encouraged by the stand of Calles to hope that church services might be resumed during the negotiations. This hope was evidently dissipated, for on Aug. 23 the Episcopate issued the following statement: "The situation continues the same as before the conference with President Calles. Services will not be resumed. \* \* \* It is necessary not only to discern a method of giving instructions to priests without sacrificing the rights of the Church, but also to discover if it is possible to obtain a certain derogation of all laws injuring liberty of conscience. Methods of taking this question to the Chamber of Deputies are being discussed."

The explanation for this sudden change of policy by the Episcopate apparently is to be found in the following cable from the Holy See to the Episcopate which was made public on Aug. 27: "Press reports announce that you are entering into agreements which do not conform to the instructions given by the Holy See. We are awaiting information. Meanwhile, we will not depart from the determination which the Episcopate from the first has taken with such firmness and which was eulogized by the whole world.—GASPARRI." To this telegram the Episcopate replied as follows: "The published reports are absolutely false. In no manner will we depart, with

the help of God, from the instructions given by the Holy See. Firmness is the attitude of the Bishops. All are absolute in their obedience and filial love. They implore the Holy Father's blessing."

The Mexican Congress went into session on Sept. 1. In his opening message President Calles reiterated his policy of enforcing the present laws interpreting the Constitution. He declared that the religious question was unimportant and had received too much attention. In enforcing religious regulations, he added, no persecution of religious beliefs was intended, only the repression of "anti-social, anti-judicial and uncalled-for acts of a group urged on by so-called spiritual leaders under the pretext that these laws were not molded to their strange conception of liberty and were not satisfactory to their particular interests. To tolerate this would have been for the Executive to accept responsibility for the future before the nation, before the revolution and before history. The bill drawn by the Minister of the Interior for the regulation of Article 130 of the Constitution will be presented to Congress. It will regulate the number of ministers of religion in the Federal District and territories. The Executive is firmly determined to follow the line of conduct already traced for the enforcement of the principles of the supreme law. In doing this the Government is absolutely convinced that, in spite of the constant obstacles to its work, the great majority of the Mexican people will give it the support necessary to conclude it." In concluding, the President promised that if experience showed the application of these laws to run counter to his present policy, or if experience showed the desirability of moderation of the laws, the Executive would be the first to suggest changes.

This message was indignantly answered the following day by the Catholic clergy, who accused President Calles of Bolshevik policies in trying to bring about a complete change in the life and legal régime of the Mexican people. The President, they added, had no right to be both leader of the nation and judge, too, and charged that the expulsion of foreign priests from Mexico was in direct violation of the law.

The economic boycott had an increas-





DEEP ROOTED

—Central Press Association

ingly depressing effect on business in Mexico during August. Lay Catholic organizations continued to promote the boycott and the Government continued its policy of arresting persons who distributed circulars favoring it. President Calles on Aug. 7 said that the Government was not taking the boycott "into account, for the Government considers it ridiculous. \* \* \* He who has no clothes I am sure will buy them." On Aug. 18 the Confederation of Chambers of Commerce, representing Chambers of Commerce all over Mexico, reversed an earlier expressed determination not to take any stand in the Church and State conflict and requested President Calles, in view of the business depression prevalent throughout Mexico, to revise the religious laws. In mid-August United States Commercial Attaché Wythe reported that Mexico's two most important industries, oil and mining, had not been affected. In the Central States, however, the boycott

was more effective than at first believed. The owner of one of the largest American houses in Mexico City stated that he had felt the effects of the boycott severely. The majority of his customers in lines that gave the largest profits, he said, were evidently Catholics, and since the boycott started he could see a decided drop. In vital necessities, he concluded, business was about the same, but in luxuries buying was less than half of what it was in the same months last year.

The banks, however, reported that general banking business was about the same, except that there was a larger amount of drafts for the United States being sold.

The action of Catholics outside Mexico that aroused the greatest interest was that taken by the Knights of Columbus in the United States. The Supreme Council of this order, in session at Philadelphia on Aug. 5, protested against the policy of President Calles in having put into operation the religious and education provisions of the Constitution of 1917; charged that in the enforcement of

this policy American citizens had been "insulted, degraded and expelled \* \* \* under circumstances abhorrent to our conception of constitutional Government"; called upon President Coolidge and the Department of State to "put an end to this ignominious contempt which has been shown by Calles for American appeals"; condemned the "patronage bestowed" by the United States Government upon the Calles Government "by the continuance of recognition, and particularly by the discriminating favoritism shown to Calles by the continuance of the embargo" on arms into Mexico from the United States that has been in effect since January, 1924; and authorized the assessment of \$1,000,000 upon the membership of the organization for a campaign of education "to the end that the policies of Soviet Russia shall be eliminated from the philosophy of American life."

However, after a conference with Presi-

dent Coolidge on Sept. 1, James A. Flaherty, Supreme Knight, interpreted the resolution as being opposed to intervention in Mexico, but "desirous of sympathetic action by the Government to put an end to conditions there, and not to afford support or aid to President Calles in the present conflict between the Catholic Church and the Mexican Government."

The Holy See also continued during August to condemn the Calles decree of July 3. A document signed by Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, and circulated in Mexico early in August, stated that "the Holy See condemns the law and every act which signifies or can be interpreted by the faithful as acceptance or recognition of this law."

The United States Government from the beginning has maintained the policy that unless American lives and property rights are placed in jeopardy the Church and State conflict in Mexico, as far as this Government is concerned, is purely a domestic affair of Mexico. In behalf of President Coolidge the announcement was made on Aug. 6 that he had heard of no reports of any offenses against American citizens in Mexico.

The American Federation of Labor, through President Green, on Aug. 11 disclaimed any responsibility for the support of President Calles's religious and educational policy by the Mexican Federation of Labor, and announced that it had "refrained from interfering in the internal and domestic policies of the Mexican nation." The only Government known to have intervened in a friendly way in the Church and State conflict in Mexico is that of Peru. President Leguia of that country in a cable to President Calles on Aug. 4 requested the latter to "incline his powerful good-will" to a solution of the religious conflict in Mexico. President Calles replied that he was bound to regard President Leguia's message "as merely a personal communication, in no way signifying the interference of a foreign power in matters which are exclusively within the domestic province of my country."

The United States Government during August took effective action to prevent the organization upon American soil of a revolutionary expedition against the constituted

Government of Mexico. On Aug. 15 General Enrique Estrada, former Secretary of War under President Obregón and a leader of the De la Huerta revolution of 1923-1924, together with an "army" of 174 men, was arrested at San Diego, Cal., charged with having violated the neutrality laws of the United States. United States officials also seized a large amount of munitions and war equipment and documentary evidence revealing the plans of the plotters.

The Mexican Government on Aug. 5 deposited with the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico in New York funds to be applied to the payment of the interest on the foreign debt corresponding to the second six months of the year 1926. Interest on the foreign debt for the first six months of the current year, amounting to \$11,250,000, was paid to the Committee of Bankers on July 1; hence the interest for the second six months of 1926 was not due, under the Lamont-Pani agreement of 1925, until Jan. 1, 1927.

## Nicaragua

A LIBERAL revolution which has resulted in grave national and international complications developed in Nicaragua during August. Hostilities were begun on Aug. 19 when a troop train between Managua and Corinto, chief port on the Pacific Coast, was dynamited, but without any loss of life being reported. Two days later a Government force of 1,500 was reported to have defeated 800 rebels. General Chamorro claimed a complete victory on Aug. 31 over revolutionists around Cose Guinea on the Bay of Fonseca. Sixty Government troops and forty revolutionists were killed and over one hundred wounded, according to General Chamorro's information. General Chamorro asked Chargé Dennis to have the cruiser *Tulsa* sent to a point on the Bay of Fonseca near Cose Guinea to bring the wounded back to Corinto, as they were without doctors' medical supplies and three days by mule trail in heavy rain from the nearest relief.

Foreign complications developed on Aug. 25. On that day, after Customs Collector Crampton at Bluefields, a principal port on the Caribbean, had reported the



capture by rebels of the headquarters of the Cuyamel Fruit Company, the Department of State called upon the Navy Department to protect American interests in Nicaragua. Accordingly, the *Tulsa* was ordered to Corinto and the cruiser *Galveston* was ordered from Panama to Bluefields. The announcement was made by the Department of State that this action "may be regarded as a precautionary measure and one undertaken for the protection of American lives and property in case any threat against them arises." On Aug. 28 200 American sailors and marines landed at Bluefields from the *Galveston*, and two days later the cruiser *Rochester* was ordered to Bragman's Bluff.

De facto President Chamorro on Aug. 25 officially charged that a Mexican steamer, the *Concon*, had loaded 1,000 rifles, five machine guns, two field pieces, and some revolvers and men at the Mexican port of Salina Cruz, and later had unloaded both arms and men at the Port of Corinto. Several of the men were reported to have been captured by loyal Nicaraguan soldiers. Two days after Chamorro had made this charge, Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Affairs Navas cabled the League of Nations that the *Concon* had sailed from the Mexican port of Salina Cruz "on a freebooting expedition against the peace of Nicaragua. It was equipped, armed and manned, including military

forces actually in service, by the Mexican Government for the purpose of assisting Nicaraguan revolutionaries." The cablegram was reported from Geneva to be purely informative and denunciatory in character, and as not requesting action from the League. However, the cablegram characterized the alleged acts of the Mexican Government as "a flagrant violation of Nicaragua's sacred rights of sovereignty," and as being "particularly unjustifiable" since "no outstanding dispute exists between the two countries, nor has the Nicaraguan Government done Mexico any injury." In reply to these charges Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs Sáenz disclaimed any knowledge on the part of the Mexican Government of any Mexican interference in the Nicaraguan revolution.

### Panama Canal Zone

AN increase of \$1,530,532.47 in canal tolls for the fiscal year ending June 30, or an increase of 7.1 per cent., over the tolls for the preceding year was announced by the United States Department of War on Aug. 4. The number of transits for the past year was 5,926, or an increase of 11 per cent. over the number of transits for the preceding year. The total cargo carried through the canal the past year was 26,154,495 long tons, of which 177,047 long tons were carried in 534 Government vessels.

#### [SOUTH AMERICA]

## Bolivian Negotiations for Outlet to Pacific Ocean

*Agustin Edwards Calls American Commission "Detective Agency"—Internationalism Growing in South America—Chile Losing Nitrate Market—New Colombian Cabinet Plans United States Loan*

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

LATE in August the Chilean Government received from Señor Miguel Cruchaga, Chilean Ambassador in Washington, a communication containing a new proposal for the solution of the Tacna-Arica difficulty. No official announcement was forthcoming from either Washington or Santiago. The Chilean press, however, analyzed this proposal as (1)

that Tacna be returned to Peru; (2) that a corridor to the sea, extending ten kilometers north of Arica, be awarded to Bolivia; and (3) that the remainder of the disputed territory, including the Arica-La Paz Railroad, be given to Chile. On Aug. 26 the Chamber of Deputies met to discuss this proposal.

The satisfying of Bolivia's desire for an

outlet to the sea has for weeks past been the subject of unofficial conversations between that republic and Chile. A speech made in Congress by Señor Felipe Guzmán, President of the Bolivian Senate, resulted in the cessation of negotiations on Aug. 19, since Chile interpreted certain portions of his address as a criticism of its activities and attitude. Chile demanded to know whether the Bolivian Government supported these views. Following the custom approved by international doctrine that a Government is not obliged to offer an apology for statements made in Congress by its representatives, Bolivia refused to reply. Though this Chilean-Bolivian incident led to no serious consequences, it was indicative of the political tension over this controversy.

Señor Beltrán Mathieu, for years Chilean Ambassador in Washington, has resigned his portfolio as Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Santiago to become Chilean Ambassador in London. His successor, Señor Antonio Hunneus, in his first official pronouncement advocated no new international policies but reviewed current national and international problems. Chile maintains the right to rule in Arica. In a confidential memorandum delivered on Aug. 8 to his Government, Agustín Edwards, former Chief of the Chilean delegation of the Tacna-Arica Plebiscitary Commission, declared that the judicial position of his country had not been modified by the negotiations. He maintained Chile's right to sovereignty over the disputed area until a contrary opinion should be expressed by qualified voters at a plebiscite. His memorandum criticized the American delegates on the ground that from the beginning of the negotiations, they "acted not as if they were trying to settle the dispute between Chile and Peru, but rather as if they were endeavoring to prove that one of the countries in the controversy was guilty of crimes denounced by the other, giving to the Plebiscitary Commission the appearance of a detective agency exhausting all available means to find clues and the guilty party."

The long discussed treaty of amity and arbitration recently concluded between Italy and Spain was regarded in South

America as "a most auspicious event." The Italian semi-official press was quick to point out that Italy and Spain were united in national interests concerned with this continent. The *Giornale d'Italia* said that in South America one finds "a young civilization with a happy union of the Spanish and Italian languages, brains and muscle. The new Italian régime which fully respects the autonomy and sovereignty, even spiritual, of South American republics, better understands the value and friendship of that continent, where there are so many large and flourishing colonies of Italians."

Thinking in international terms is manifest as never before in South American republics. The prominence of these countries in the League of Nations, the increase of diplomatic and consular representatives abroad, an expanding foreign trade and insistent demands for foreign capital evince the awakening interest in international development. Results appear in improved facilities for transportation and communication. The whole continent is turning to the airplane and the radio. Broadcasting, recently restricted by Government decree, is fast assuming a position of primary importance in the spreading of news. The whole Eastern coast became interested in aviation when Spanish flyers successfully crossed the Atlantic. Peru now offers a prize of \$40,000 to the first company to establish an airplane service between the Pacific Coast and Iquitos, across the Andes. New developments in railroad building in South America have led to the preparation by our Department of Commerce of a series of monographs on South American railroads. The first of the series, on the railroads of Argentina, shows that more than a billion and a half dollars are now invested in the railroads of that republic. This is largely foreign capital, with an increasing participation of American lenders from year to year.

The United States War Department announced on Aug. 23 a contemplated flight of five army airplanes from San Antonio, Texas, to Argentina "to strengthen the amicable relations already existing among American republics, to demonstrate the feasibility of aerial transportation and communication between these widely sep-



arated nations, and finally to subject amphibious airplanes to a severe test on land and water."

## Bolivia

**B**OLIVIA celebrated its 101st anniversary of independence with appropriate ceremonies on Aug. 6. Three days later the regular annual session of Congress convened. President Siles, after some months as Chief Executive, found it difficult to secure the political support necessary to carry out his policies. In consequence of following Dr. Felipe Guzman, temporary President, Dr. Siles's administration inherited many unsettled problems. These have of late been intensified by the turn of events in the Tacna-Arica controversy. A new Cabinet has recently taken office in La Paz, with Enrique Velasco Galvarro as Foreign Minister.

## Colombia

**D**R. MIGUEL ARADIA MENDEZ took the oath of office as President of Colombia on Aug. 7. The new Chief Executive, elected without opposition last February, appointed a conservative Cabinet. The Méndez Administration assumes control under auspicious circumstances. The new banking system and taxation reforms suggested by the Kemmerer Commission in 1923 have brought political stability and commercial prosperity to Colombia. President Méndez in his inaugural address invited the cooperation of the Liberal Party (which refrained from voting in the Presidential election last February) in his Administration.

Colombia proposes to float an international loan of \$100,000,000 in 1927 to build railroads and highways. It has been known for some time that half a dozen large Wall Street banking houses have been competing for a Colombian loan, the amount of which is expected to be about \$40,000,000. It was understood that the former Colombian Administration had practically completed arrangements for a large loan from the United States when it went out of office. Resumption of negotiations was delayed by this political change.

On Sept. 2 the United States Treasury paid to Colombia the last instalment of the \$25,000,000 she demanded as a result of the circumstances attending the building of the Panama Canal. This payment of \$5,000,000 was the fifth of a like amount handed over to Colombia since the celebrated Colombian Treaty was ratified in 1921 after a long fight.

## Chile

**D**OMESTIC as well as foreign problems troubled the Chilean Government during August. Following the press battle between Señor Ibañez, Minister of War, and Señor Somarriva, Minister of Finance, in which the former criticized the extravagance of the Finance Department, a Cabinet meeting was called by President Figueroa on Aug. 17. Only three Cabinet officers attended—the Ministers of War, Education and Foreign Affairs.

Financial difficulties threaten to overshadow the Tacna-Arica question. Chilean prosperity has been built up on the nitrate fields. The country has reaped little direct profit from the sale of nitrates, since the mines are financed by foreign capital to the extent of from 75 to 80 per cent. The national treasury has benefited, however, from an export tax on nitrates which has constituted the main source of State revenue. Synthetic nitrates are now manufactured to sell in Europe and the United States at prices lower than the Chilean product. In consequence, the export of nitrates from Chile fell from some 21,000,000 quintals (about 2,000,000 tons) in 1923 to 13,000,000 quintals in 1925. Largely for this reason a national deficit has accumulated since 1924. When President Alessandri attempted to increase the State revenues by higher taxes he lost favor and had to vacate his office temporarily. On his return from a forced six months' stay in Europe he was obliged to resign in favor of a temporary Government until President Figueroa was inaugurated on Dec. 23, 1925.

It has become evident that Chilean nitrates cannot hold their place in the world market unless the price is reduced, which reduction may take the form of a lower export tax. The Chamber of Deputies is now

considering a new tariff law which may embody such a measure. Because of the situation a number of the mines have already closed. There are approximately 8,000 unemployed laborers. The efforts of these men to leave the fields, which, except for the nitrate settlements are barren deserts, created transportation difficulties. In the capital more than a thousand workmen marched to Congress to demand that the Government furnish work for unemployed miners. President Figueroa called a Cabinet meeting on Aug. 18 to discuss the problem, but no decision was made public. Rumors persisted for days before this meeting that Cabinet changes were imminent. Such dissatisfaction prevailed that stability of the Government was threatened.

At this crisis the Minister of Foreign Affairs made an official statement as follows: "Recently alarming rumors have been circulated with reference to the stability of the present Government. These rumors, spread through the press, have even hinted at the resignation of the President. In view of the harm from such reports, disturbing as they do business conditions, public credit and confidence in the maintenance of order, the Government declares that such reports are without foundation. They have been circulated by unpatriotic Chileans in an effort to handicap the present Administration from the time of its inauguration." Despite this statement political disquiet was apparent.

Starting on Aug. 18, Lieutenant James H. Doolittle of the United States Army made a round trip by airplane from Santiago, Chile, to La Paz, Bolivia, traveling 2,400 miles, and crossing the Andes at a height of 15,000 feet.

## Ecuador

ECUADOR, following the example of Colombia and Chile, has invited an American commission to suggest changes in her banking and taxation systems. This commission is headed by Professor Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton University, who acted in a similar capacity for Colombia and Chile.

Although the fundamental ills of the country are probably due to underproduction of exportable products, lack of national industries, and a heavy budget for the support of the army, the most obvious difficulties today are those involving the fluctuation of exchange and the banking situation. The favorable balance of trade of the past two years is doubtless outweighed by the invisible items. With the progress of the witchbroom and monilia diseases among the cacao plantations, the country finds its chief export crop showing a shrinkage. The returns to date show a falling off in 1926 exports of 125,000 quintals with a value of \$1,500,000. It is this general situation that the Kemmerer Commission aims to improve.

## Peru

PRESIDENT LEGUIA has suggested changes in certain articles of the Constitution. On Aug. 20 the Chamber of Deputies approved a constitutional change by which guarantees of individual liberty may now be suspended "when circumstances require it"; they also approved a change of article by which archbishops and bishops will be henceforth appointed directly by the Vatican instead of by Congress. The Chamber of Deputies on Aug. 10 and the Senate on Aug. 13 authorized the Government to borrow \$30,000,000.

## Uruguay

URUGUAY is the first South American State to recognize the Soviet Union de jure. Discussing this recognition, which took place on Aug. 23, Boris Kraevsky, Soviet commercial agent in Montevideo, declared that his mission was to establish commercial relations between the Soviet Union and South American republics and that to this end he had opened an office in Buenos Aires. He promised early recognition by Argentina, since a party of Argentine Senators, political leaders and business men were studying conditions in Soviet Russia.



# Deadlock in British Coal Strike

*Ireland's Loss of Population—Canadian Liberals Attack Governor General—  
Australian Development Plans—South Africa's Demand for National Status  
—Indian Prince Causes Uneasiness*

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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**D**ESPITE various manoeuvres and proposals during the month under review, the coal stoppage continued in Great Britain. Aug. 30 was the one hundred and twenty-third day of the strike. Since the two parties to the dispute could not get together on common ground, Parliament was summoned to authorize the continuance of the emergency regulations which were put into effect at the beginning of the general strike and never rescinded. The emergency powers were granted by Parliament, which adjourned after a two-day session.

The hold of the miners' officials over their men appeared to be becoming weaker. More than 18,000 men went back to work in the Midlands, and it was only by strong efforts that A. J. Cook, the miners' Secretary, was able to stem the tide of returning miners. The break in the miners' ranks was limited to Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. There was still no sign of yielding in Northumberland, Yorkshire or South Wales. Even in the Midlands, returning miners were attacked and in many cases kept away from the mines.

It was hoped that the meeting of Parliament as well as the meeting of the Executive Council of the Miners' Federation would lead the way to a settlement. Though Mr. Cook had become more restrained in his utterances, the operators remained adamant, giving little promise of coming to an agreement. The miners' officials continued their efforts to secure funds from the United States and other countries, apparently expecting the strike to continue for some time to come. Meanwhile, the effect of the strike was plainly reflected in the trade returns, which showed enormous in-

creases in coal imports. The production of pig iron and steel almost completely ceased.

A story of Lord Kitchener's death, which turned out to be nothing but a hoax, caused such excitement that the Government published a White Paper describing in detail the preparations for Lord Kitchener's last voyage, the secrecy surrounding these preparations, the explosion which caused the sinking of the ship and the stories of the few survivors of the disaster.

## Ireland

**T**HE census figures just published by the Irish Free State show the population is 2,972,802, as compared with 3,139,688 in 1911. The Northern Ireland census shows a population of 1,256,322, making the total for all Ireland 4,229,124. The decrease in population is partly accounted for by the withdrawal of the British troops and their dependents, numbering about 34,000; more than 24,000 killed in the war; about the same number of officers and men who settled abroad after the war and the more than 8,000 members of the Irish constabulary who have left the country. Commenting on emigration, the report says that in 1921 there were 1,817,457 native-born Irishmen living in foreign countries. This is 43 per cent. of Ireland's population. Of them, 1,037,234 are in the United States.

## Canada

**A**T the beginning of September the election campaign entered upon its last stage. The Conservatives, led by Arthur Meighen, were bent on keeping the customs scandals in the foreground, and to

this end Sir François Lemieux conducted a customs inquiry. The Conservatives hoped that each week would uncover a new scandal. The Liberals, on the other hand, stressed the constitutional issue, but there were signs that they were beginning to drop this issue to talk about the merits of the last budget and Mackenzie King's higher tariff declarations. The *Toronto Globe*, the leading Liberal paper in Eastern Canada, frowned on the Liberal attacks on Lord Byng, the Governor General, but in the Western Provinces the Liberal orators made the most of this point. The Progressive Party remained in the field with the likelihood, if the somewhat unfavorable farm conditions continued, of securing enough members to continue the stalemate which existed in the Parliament just recently dissolved.

## Australia

AN interesting measure passed through the Federal Parliament in June and July. It is entitled the Migration and Development act. The Prime Minister, in introducing the measure, made it clear that future development must come before immigration, and that an examination of the absorptive power of Australia was recognized by his Government as an indispensable preliminary to a successful settlement policy. The Migration and Development Commission now to be set up will be a coordinating and advisory body, devoid in theory of executive functions. There are to be four members, including at least one representative of Labor. The first specific task assigned to the commission is that of a stock-taking of the national resources. The first set of concrete matters which will come before the commission will be those which arise out of the £34,000,000 Loan Agreement. The allocation of this loan money to the various States for the furtherance of development schemes which they contemplate is in the hands of the Federal Cabinet, but Prime Minister Bruce said flatly that "no Cabinet is fitted for this work." It would involve an exhaustive examination of every proposed scheme, and this work will be entrusted to the commission. No scheme which is vetoed by the commission can be carried into effect; but,

on the other hand, schemes recommended by the commission need not necessarily be the subject of Cabinet action.

The proposed amendments to the Constitution to give the Federal Parliament larger powers to deal with industrial disputes and to provide necessities during strikes were condemned by the All-Australian Trade Union Congress, which adopted a resolution requiring every member of the Australian Labor Party to vote against the proposals. Mr. Charlton, the leader of the Labor Party, however, declared he would defy the Congress and has since been working with Premier Bruce for the adoption of the proposals.

Alan Cobham arrived in Melbourne on Aug. 15, having completed the long trip from England to Australia by air.

The annual report of the Tariff Board suggests a modified adaptation of the flexible tariff system which operates in the United States.

The Commonwealth Government has offered to take over all territory of Western Australia north of the twenty-sixth parallel, south latitude, and to institute there a form of crown colony government for the local administration similar to that of Papua. The Government would also appoint a commission with ample powers for promoting and developing the territory. Mr. Bruce says that the Commonwealth Government proposal is prompted by national reasons, as Western Australia has been unable properly to develop the territory and the Federal Government realizes the necessity of spending large sums there.

## India

LORD IRWIN, the Viceroy, opening the Indian Legislative Assembly on Aug. 17, indicated in his speech that he took for granted the constitutional review of the Government of India by a Royal Commission in 1929.

Reports indicated a certain uneasiness in the relations between the Government of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad. Hyderabad is the largest of the native States and the Nizam is a representative of a Mohammedan dynasty, although the great majority of his subjects are Hindus. The





#### THE PRICE OF VICTORY

Young Fritz: "Who is dat worried looking man ober dere, Fadder?"  
 Old Fritz: "Vell, you would hardly believe it, but dot is de shentleman vot von der var."  
 (In consequence of British stoppage there is a boom in the German coal trade.)

—*Evening Express, London.*

matter raises the important issue of the status and rights of the Indian Princes.

The task of abolishing slavery in Nepal has been completed at a cost of \$1,366,250, an average of \$25 a slave, the number liberated with compensation by the Government of Nepal being 51,782, out of the total number of 59,873 slaves. Out of 15,719 owners, only 467 desired the retention of slavery.

## South Africa

THE Union Government, in announcing the personnel of the Parliamentary Deputation to India, let it be known that it had no diplomatic significance, but that its purpose is to make a friendly gesture toward the Government of India and to gather information that will be useful in dealing with the Asiatic question in South Africa.

A visit of the Labor members of the Cabinet to Natal revived the flag question in an acute fashion, particularly when Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, declared that he was not prepared to accept Labor's proposal that the Union should have two flags—the Union Jack and a local flag—both to be flown on official occasions.

Mr. Beyers, Minister of Mines, in a speech on Aug. 6, said that at present the equal status of the Dominions existed only in theory. He wished it to be put into definite form and to have a declaration that each of the Dominions should be on an equal footing with Great Britain. He suggested several changes: The Governor General should be appointed by the Government of the Dominion; the appointment of foreign consuls in the Dominion should

be approved first by the Dominion, and the Dominion should have the power of direct communication with the King through the Governor General.

Thirty thousand Europeans and twelve thousand natives recently watched the biggest alluvial diamond rush in the history of South Africa. There were eleven thousand runners for twenty thousand claims.

A conference opened in Pretoria on Aug. 8 when General Hertzog received representatives of the farmers and native officials from all parts of the Union and discussed the native land policy he proposes to place before Parliament next session.

## New Zealand

THE Government of New Zealand has introduced a Family Allowances bill which aims at providing aid for large families with small incomes. It is proposed by the bill to pay 2 shillings a week from the State funds for each child, exceeding two, under 15 years of age, where the family income from all sources is less than £4 a week. The amounts are to be payable to mothers and the money must be applied for the benefit of the children.

# France's Progress Toward Financial Stability

*Sinking Fund Strengthens the Franc—Tobacco Monopoly to Help Redeem Floating Debt—New Confidence in Franc—Belgium Railways Leased to Private Management—Improved Industrial Conditions*

By CARL BECKER

John Stambaugh Professor of History, Cornell University

THE French Parliament adjourned on Aug. 11, leaving the Ministry to deal as it could with the question of economies in administration and the reduction of the cost of living. During the week following the Cabinet reached certain decisions designed to that end. It continued the measure limiting bread to 90 per cent. wheat flour for the calendar year of 1927. It took steps to limit the meat dishes in first-class restaurants to two per meal, and to prohibit the sale of fresh bread. It considered plans for effecting economies in the marketing and distribution of foods.

Premier Poincaré carried the bills for new taxes and a sinking fund through the Chamber of Deputies with little opposition during the first week in August. It would be truer to say with little expressed opposition. The attitude of the Deputies was one of apathy—the attitude of men who felt that it was necessary to do something, no matter what, and that since the Government was willing to take the responsibility they were willing to let it do so. In fact, Premier Poincaré's bills were adopted very much as they might have been if the Chamber had granted to the Government the extraordinary powers asked for by the previous Briand-Caillaux Ministry. Virtually, although not technically, the Chamber temporarily abdicated responsibility, and if the new measures fail the Government will not be able to say that it was hampered by the Chamber.

Of the measures passed, the bill for a sinking fund was of greatest interest. It provided for the redemption of the 49,000,000,000 francs of floating debt in the form of short-term bonds by means of a fund to

be created from the proceeds of the tobacco monopoly, the succession duties, and such gifts and legacies as may be received. If the funds so obtained are insufficient, the bill provides that the Legislature shall make good the deficiency by appropriation. And, in order to place the matter beyond the competence of the Legislature, it was proposed that the measure should be incorporated into the Constitution by means of a constitutional amendment. For this purpose the two Chambers met in National Assembly on Aug. 10 at Versailles and voted the amendment by 671 to 144. The opposition votes were cast by the Socialists and the Communists.

It was clear that the question of the ratification of the American debt would not come up during this session. Premier Poincaré has never expressed himself explicitly on the question, but it was understood that he was favorable to a modification of the arrangements. But toward the close of August it was reported that the trend of opinion in Government circles was more favorable to ratification. On Aug. 9 the question of the debt was referred to two special commissions, one appointed by the Finance Commission of the Chamber, the other by the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The two commissions were instructed to make a thorough study of the debt question, from both the technical financial and the political points of view. It was understood that the Government policy would be based upon the report of the two commissions. The ratification of the American debt agreement was obviously bound up with the question of obtaining foreign credits, which, perhaps, gives some significance to the fact that on



Aug. 23 the Government negotiated a loan of 60,000,000 Swiss francs (19.30 cents value) with the Swiss Credit Bank of Zurich.

A notable event of the month was the steady rise of the franc until Aug. 19, and the firmness with which, in spite of a slight reaction after that date, it maintained its position. Opinions differed as to the cause. The export surplus of 288,000,000 francs for July, and the activity of the Government in respect to reducing the cost of living were alleged explanations. More important, doubtless, was the favorable condition of the Bank of France as revealed by the report that advances to the State were reduced by 350,000,000 francs, and that note circulation was reduced by 612,000,000. Most important of all in accounting for the stability of the franc was the fact that the character of the Poincaré Ministry, and the ease with which it has carried certain aspects of its program, resulted in a general confidence in France which had not existed for many months. The Bank of France has not as yet made much use of the powers granted

to it to purchase foreign currencies, nor has the Government fixed a date for the actual stabilization of the franc; but there has been a widespread feeling that the stabilization policy of the Government will in due time be effected.

This new confidence was undoubtedly reflected in the unusual response of the people in the payment of taxes. For July the taxes received amounted to 3,583,000,000 francs, as compared with 2,420,000,000 for July, 1925. Of this amount 423,000,000 francs were paid in direct taxes, the major part of which were not yet due.

Although there was a favorable export balance for July, the first seven months of the year showed an unfavorable balance of 2,463,000,000 francs. Exports for the seven months totaled 31,967,000,000, against 25,092,000,000 for the same period of 1925, while imports were 34,430,000,000, against 22,236,000,000, showing a total trade increase of 19,070,000,000 francs. Imports increased 12,195,000,000 and exports 6,875,000,000. This increase of the imports total reflected more depreciation of the franc's purchasing value

than an actual increase in imports, which was comparatively slight. The increase in exports on the other hand was chiefly due to actual shipments, because until July French price lists were not increased on a scale corresponding to the appreciation of the dollar.

The devastated regions of France have been rapidly restored. The report of the Statistical Society showed that of the 1,923,479 hectares of land requiring reconstruction 1,815,449 had been restored to cultivation by the end of 1925 (a hectare is 2.47 acres). Of the 866,844 buildings destroyed or damaged, 521,913 were rebuilt or repaired. Of the factories which were damaged or destroyed, 88 per cent. were once more in operation. At the close of 1925 the French Government undertook to



DINNER TIME

—The Star, London



THE BANKER WATCHES HIS COOKS WORKING

—Pravda, Moscow

meet the expenses of reconstruction to the amount of 102,000,000,000 francs, and at that time it had actually disbursed for that purpose 79,000,000,000 francs.

## Belgium

**D**URING August the program of the Belgian Government for the solution of the financial situation was carried forward, if not with marked rapidity, at least with marked success. Much attention was given to effecting economies in both public and private expenditures. Decrees were issued abandoning work on public improvements not considered essential, and postponing such improvements as were in contemplation. The State railways were "commercialized," that is they were turned over to private control and operation, under a seventy-five-year lease. Passenger and freight rates immediately went up temporarily by 25 per cent. The new management expected to reduce operating expenses drastically, and to effect other material economies. It was announced on Aug. 11 that the telephone and telegraph services would be placed under a management similar to that controlling the railways.

For effecting this transfer, preferred shares to the amount of 1,800,000,000 francs were to be offered for public subscription, the State retaining shares to the amount of 1,500,000,000 francs. For effecting private economies a decree was prepared on Aug. 19 prohibiting the importation of white bread. It was reported that the people generally, with whatever dislike, were supporting the Government in this drastic restriction by contenting themselves with black bread. Premier Jasper declared that the public's response to the Government's program "is a clear indication that the whole country, without distinction of class, presents an unbroken front to what is called here 'the battle to save the franc'." It was rumored that the Government was even contemplating a tax on beer which would make it too expensive for the mass of the people.

The measure for taxing foreigners went into effect on Aug. 14. The tax on lodgings was increased from 10 to 20 per cent., and a daily tax of 10 francs was required of foreign automobilists. Since these taxes affected foreigners from only those countries whose exchange is high, it was reported that both the British and American Governments would raise the question of



whether the discriminatory taxes were not in contravention of existing treaties with Belgium.

The most notable event of the month from the point of view of the Government's financial program was the success with which the transfer of railway shares for the internal floating debt was effected. The plan was to exchange the 6,000,000,000 francs of short-term Government bonds for State railway securities at the rate of 175 francs to the pound sterling. The practical operation of this arrangement involves a rise or fall of the interest rate according to the future rise or fall of the market value of the franc. The holders of Government bonds were offered the option of exchanging their bonds for railway securities or receiving cash payment. The option expired on Aug. 14 and it was announced that cash payment had been demanded only to the amount of 750,000,000 francs, which meant that the remainder of

the bonds would be exchanged for the railway securities, thus assuring the success of the operation.

It was announced on Aug. 23 that the Government contemplated stabilizing the franc at 160 to the pound sterling, and that, for that purpose, it had begun negotiations with British bankers for a loan of from £10,000,000 to £12,000,000. In spite of the past failure to negotiate such a loan, there was a general feeling that the present attempt would succeed, inasmuch as the prospect for a solution of the financial situation was now much brighter, and the financial situation of the Government steadily improving. The estimated deficit for the year was only 488,800,000 francs. Meantime the statistics of industrial conditions showed steady improvement. The fact that production of coal, coke and pig iron during 1925 exceeded that in the year preceding the great war is a favorable indication.

[GERMANY AND AUSTRIA]

## Germany's Move To Regain Colonies

*League Entry Seen As a Means—Allies Protest Against German Militarism  
—Huge Monarchist Demonstration—Aid for German Farmers—Austrian  
Socialists Fail to Impeach Ramek Government*

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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AT the annual meeting of the German Colonial Congress held at Hamburg from July 31 to Aug. 4 a resolution was adopted to the effect that Germany's admission into the League of Nations would be interpreted by the German people as entitling her to reclaim her former colonies. The Congress was called by the Kolonial Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft, or, as it is commonly known, the "Korag," the chief sponsor of the colonial movement in Germany. Headed by Dr. Seitz, former Governor of German Southwest Africa, this organization practically coordinates all the German colonial societies and other large organizations with colonial interests. At present it numbers some thirty societies

and corporations and has a membership of over 30,000, including most of the ex-Governors and officials of the former German colonies and several members of the former German Colonial Ministry. The general outline of German colonial policy advocated by the "Korag" may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The mandate system must be retained so long as Germany's colonies are not returned to her. For this purpose it is necessary that Germany should have a permanent seat on the Council of the League so as to oppose effectively the annexation policy of the mandatories.

2. Recognition that all B mandates, i. e., all protectorates with the exception of Southwest Africa, New Guinea and Samoa, form a complete

administrative area and are not part of the territory of another State.

3. These protectorates must not be united to foreign colonies for administrative purposes.

4. The same applies to finance and customs.

5. Crown lands, railways, harbors and public works are the property of the protectorate and not of the mandatory. The League must regulate conditions with regard to works begun with loans from third parties.

6. The treatment of natives must be in accordance with Article 22 of the League Covenant. Recruiting in the protectorates for foreign colonies must cease, and recruits from the Cameroons and Togoland must be repatriated. An international commission should be appointed by the League to watch over these natives.

7. The natives must have the right to petition the League directly and the replies need not necessarily be through the mandatory.

8. German trade must be placed on a footing of equality in all colonies, especially in the former German protectorates.

The rather peremptory tone of these principles is said to be partly the result of what Germans everywhere regard as an unnecessary and unjust condemnation of German colonial methods as set forth in the Versailles Treaty, which they consider as a reflection on their "colonial honor." In spite of the persistent efforts on the part of the "Korag," keen observers report that thus far, at least, the German public is not keenly interested in the colonial question. Most political leaders fear to endorse it lest it involve Germany in a quarrel with Great Britain, an event which they would do their utmost to prevent. Specifically, the Nationalists as a party, though not opposed to Germany's regaining her colonies or acquiring new colonial possessions, do not consider it of prime importance. Above all, they do not want Germany to become so involved in matters colonial that she cannot take full advantage of whatever opportunities the Russian situation may present. The present Government parties will not suffer any colonial question to poison the relations between Great Britain and the Reich. The Left parties are either apathetic or absolutely opposed to the acquisition of colonial domain.

The receipt of three new allied notes on disarmament, couched in what was regarded as an "alarming tone," was admitted by the Foreign Ministry on Aug. 27.

In these communications the Council of Ambassadors complained about the military activities of German patriotic societies, illegal enlistment of volunteers in the Reichswehr, and the deliberate placing of obstacles in the path of the Interallied Control Commission's inquiries. In reply the German Government alleged that all the charges in question were baseless. Many German leaders profess to see in these three notes, which are merely additions to the some 2,700 messages of similar character received from Paris during the last six years, the handiwork of Premier Poincaré. Notwithstanding these notes, Foreign Minister Stresemann expressed the opinion that the French Premier would support the entry of Germany into the League. Up to Aug. 12 Germany had registered fifteen treaties with the League, four of which were with Russia. The treaty of friendship with the United States, signed at Washington on Dec. 8, 1925, was also among the number.

A monster Monarchist demonstration, interpreted by some as a protest against Germany's entry into the League of Nations, was staged at Nuremburg on Aug. 29. For three hours a solid phalanx of members of Nationalistic organizations, most of them veterans of the World War, marched past a group of Princes and Generals, including Prince Rupprecht, Prince Oscar and Field Marshal Mackensen. Owing to a decree issued by Minister of Defense Gessler, Reichswehr troops did not participate as units, although a number of Reichswehr officers were present in civilian clothes. The ex-Kaiser sent his greetings, and numerous speeches praising the old régime were made.

The reactionary character of the convention of the National Students' Association held at Bonn during the first week in August was bitterly denounced by the liberal press. In defiance of the Prussian Government the convention, by an overwhelming majority, voted to make race rather than nationality the basis for membership in the association. Under the nationality rule groups of German students in Austria and Czechoslovakia, which now play so big a part in the Pan-German



movement, would be barred. The convention also was markedly anti-Semitic.

Steps have been taken to avoid a repetition of the severe credit shortage which distressed a great part of the agricultural districts of Germany last year and forced farmers to sell their grain immediately after harvest at low prices. In the first place a system of agricultural credits has been organized. In addition to regular mortgage credits to agriculturists granted by various public and private companies and by insurance companies, 250,000,000 marks of the German Gold Discount Bank was made available. A second remedy planned was the development of collateral grain loans on a considerable scale, permitting the cultivator to borrow up to 60 per cent. of the value of his threshed grain through a cooperative organization for a six months' period. Thirdly, a private grain trading company with limited liability provided with a capital of 150,000,000 marks, contributed by fertilizer concerns, has been established. This company has already been granted a loan of 30,000,000 marks by the Government at a low rate of interest.

The Boerse was literally swamped with orders when on Aug. 23 it opened dealing in the stocks of the United Steel Works, Germany's new trust, which includes all the large steel plants of the Reich. More than 3,000,000,000 marks in new shares was ordered, though only between twenty and thirty million marks in stock was available.

The directors of the Interessen-Gemeinschaft der Farbenindustrie (German Dye Trust) voted on Sept. 1 an increase in capital of 454,000,000 marks, bringing the total capital to 1,100,000,000. The larger part of the increase will be used for the development of nitrogen and for coal production.

With the aid of the loan of \$3,000,000 granted by Brown Bros. & Co. and Lee, Higginson & Co., the Mansfeld Copper Mine is now busy modernizing its plants and constructing a new smelter and an electrolytic refinery. The Mansfeld Company is gradually acquiring a leading position in the German metal business and there is no doubt that it will also profit from the formation of the new Association

of Copper Exporters recently established in the United States. Next to the Spanish Rio Tinto Company, the Mansfeld Copper Mining Company now is the largest European copper mine.

Two thousand manufacturers, representing every phase of German industrial activity, assembled in Dresden on Sept. 3 to hear their own leaders and members of the German Government analyze the present economic position of their country. The occasion of this important gathering was the annual convention of the National Association of German Industry, the most hopeful business organization in Europe. The general verdict of the assembled experts was that Germany's finances were permanently stable, that German trade had passed the nadir of its depression but was still far from flourishing, and that the reparation burden imposed by the Dawes plan could not in the long run be borne.

## Austria

A SOCIALIST bill to initiate impeachment proceedings against Chancellor Ramek's Government was defeated by a strict party vote on Aug. 31. The bill was based on a charge that the Government had acted unconstitutionally in advancing \$9,000,000 in July to the Central Bank der Deutscher Sparkassen. Established at Prague in 1901 with the object of serving as a clearing house for the savings banks of the German-speaking populations of Bohemia and other Provinces of the late Austrian Empire, it was practically forced during the World War to transfer its seat to Vienna. After the political and economic separation of the Provinces now forming part of Czechoslovakia, the institution lost its chief support and was compelled to engage in ordinary commercial banking. The climax came in June last, when it was rumored that its industrial credits were so tied up that it was in difficulties. To prevent a threatened depositors' run and, in turn, what was feared might be a grave crisis, the Government stepped in and advanced the loan.

The debate on the impeachment proposal was characterized by tumultuous scenes. The Socialists argued that the Government should have consulted Parliament before

giving one-tenth of the public revenue to a bank which was closely connected with the party in power. Chancellor Ramek defended himself on the ground that the action was urgently necessary, owing to the alarmist reports of the Socialist *Abend* and that he had consulted Parliament as soon as possible. The Government hopes to regain the money by a tax on all savings banks.

Recently published figures for Austria's seven largest banks show increased balance sheet totals for 1925 as compared with the preceding year, which means that their business has grown. On the other hand, gross receipts in all cases declined, but three of the seven banks showed a larger

net profit than in 1924. The decline of gross receipts was due to smaller earnings of interest, the rate for 1925 having been lowered from 12 to 9 per cent.

Although unemployment conditions in Austria showed great improvement at the beginning of last July, reports for August and September indicated that the curve of unemployment was tending slowly upward again. Many well-informed persons, both in Austria and elsewhere, declare that unemployment will remain chronic until Austria becomes part of a larger economic entity co-extensive with the old Habsburg Empire. Dr. Zimmermann, former League Commissioner General for Austria, is among those who hold this view.

## [ITALY]

## All Italian Municipalities Deprived of Home Rule

*Industrial Crisis and Increased Unemployment Deliberately Precipitated by Drastic Deflation Policy—Swiss Alarmed by Construction of Italian Roads to Border Points*

By ELOISE ELLERY

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BY the decree of the Council of Ministers of Aug. 30 the *podesta* system was extended to all the cities and towns of Italy. This meant the complete abolition of municipal elections and the substitution for elected officers of appointees of the Central Government. This new organization was inaugurated last February for towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants and also for towns considered health resorts and those in the earthquake zone. About 1,700 cities and towns are affected, Rome and Naples alone being excepted. Rome remains under a special type of administration with a Governor, and Naples remains under the rule of a High Commissioner. Neither city, however, has any elected officials. When the decree was promulgated, it was explained that the decree of February, which was experimental, was so successful that the Government was convinced that the system was applicable to all municipalities. It

is evident, the Council of Ministers declares, "that the people are convinced that the choice of administrators of autonomous entities—towns, cities, provinces—by popular suffrage has outlived its day and that the elective system should be replaced by one which responds more readily to modern conditions." Another reason for the adoption of the system was that it is closely connected with the new syndical organization. This gives the Central Government a double means of control.

In cities of more than 20,000 population the Governor or Podesta is aided by one or two Vice Governors and by a *consulta* (council) graded in size according to the importance of the city. The decree provides for the appointment of the members of the council either by the Prefect of the Commune or by the Minister of the Interior from a list suggested by the recognized syndical organizations. It is to be noted that the *podesta* system, thus inau-



gured, is very similar to that which prevailed throughout the mediaeval republics of the Italian peninsula. This new system also resembles that of the Middle Ages in that representation in legislative bodies is on the basis of organizations of professions and trades which correspond roughly to the old mediaeval guilds.

A more drastic deflation policy was adopted by the Council of Ministers on Aug. 31, based on plans submitted by Finance Minister Volpi. These measures provided that the gold reserve of the Bank of Italy be increased by almost 500,000,000 gold lire, while the paper circulation was to be decreased immediately by almost 3,000,000,000 lire and by 500,000,000 lire every year hereafter. Half a billion lire of treasury bonds were also to be withdrawn immediately, and another half billion at the end of October. This plan involves the transfer to the Bank of Italy of \$90,000,000, representing the proceeds of the Morgan loan floated in America. The Italian Government took these drastic steps with the full realization of the grave industrial crisis which they would entail. Signor Grandi, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a statement to The Associated Press, said:

No other Government in Europe could carry out the program we have embarked upon without placing machine guns in the streets. We expect a serious, but we hope transitory, crisis in industry. Undoubtedly there will be unemployment for six months or so, affecting 500,000 to 1,000,000 men. As the artificial inflation of industry is punctured, there will be many collapses accompanied no doubt by much suffering. But it is the only honest path open to us, and Mussolini in his decisive way has determined to see it through to a finish. Instead of instituting the gold basis for money or artificially fixing an exchange rate, we are going to use every ounce of what force we have to revalue the lira by the more dangerous but more honest means which, when successful, will put Italy on a solid and unshakable financial footing. Naturally, vigorous deflation will cause the loss of many foreign markets, and this will interfere with the economic battle for the improvement of our international trade balance. However, the Government is preparing measures to aid industry. The working classes will suffer, but we are sure all classes will support the Government with full faith in Mussolini's sagacity. Italy is primarily a nation of the middle classes, who must be taken care of

first even if the richer classes and the proletariat suffer during any temporary crisis. One immediate advantage of this new financial program will be a reduction in the high cost of living, through the increased buying power of the currency.

An unfavorable trade balance was reported for the first half of the year. The excess of imports amounted to 5,946,000,000 lire as against 5,827,000,000 for the same period of 1925.

Distrust of Italy's motives in building expensive roads among the mountains along the border of Switzerland's southernmost canton, the Ticino, coupled with recurring anxiety over the strength of reported separatist societies in that canton, was freely expressed in the Swiss press during August. Italians, it was pointed out, largely predominate in the Ticino, and, while they were entirely loyal to Switzerland during the great war, after the armistice incidents occurred which, with irredentism a powerful factor in Italian politics, caused fears that Italy, if balked elsewhere, might begin to consider the Ticino as also a part of Italia Irredenta. At that time the Swiss took special precautions for the armed defense of the Ticino, which were maintained until Italy entered into a treaty of arbitration with Berne which pledged Rome to submit all disputes to The Hague Tribunal or to a Board of Conciliation. For the last two years, however, the Swiss press pointed out, Italy has employed troops on the frontier from Engadine to Domodossola in building costly roads joined to Milan and Turin but ending in ravines or mountain tops on the Swiss border. A new Alpine road under construction by Italian military engineers to the summit of Col de San Giacomo at an altitude of 7,670 feet above the valley of Ossola brought forth statements in the Swiss press that, as the road was useless from a commercial or sporting viewpoint, its value must be strategic. Military opinion conceded that the completion of the new road would make it possible, in the event of war with Italy, for the Italian army quickly to fortify with heavy artillery such heights as would effectually command the Grimesel and Furka passes in the centre of Switzerland and paralyze the

country by severing its communications. The infiltration of Germans into the Ticino, which continued this year, led to incidents showing resentment on the part of the Italian residents and, along with the construction of Alpine roads by Italy, increased Swiss fears of an irredentist movement.

Because of Fascist attacks on Catholic parades at Mantua and Macerata, the Pope has canceled the scheduled International Catholic Gymnast Congress, and the Italian Government immediately ordered the Inspector General of Police to investigate and punish those responsible. The incidents which have caused the trouble, according to the Government version, were not serious and were caused by excess zeal of boys, and hence did not represent any real anti-Catholic feeling on the part of responsible Fascisti.

Premier Mussolini on Aug. 22 signed a convention with the Aero Club of Norway defining the economic relations between the Italian Government and the club in connection with the recent polar flight of the Norge. It provides for the sale of the Norge to the Italian Government for \$325,000, less the Italian Government's charge for gas and transport.

As a part of the program of the revival of Italy's glories of the past, plans are under consideration for raising the so-called sunken barges of Nemi. These are two boats lying 120 feet below the surface of Lake Nemi, a small body of water about twenty miles south of Rome. From relics already brought up the boats appear to date from the era of Imperial Rome.

The Fascist organization has extended its control over the lawyers belonging to the



Wonder if he expects to gather up all those old building stones?  
—The Chicago Tribune

party. At a recent meeting of the Fascist directorate, presided over by Premier Mussolini, action was taken prohibiting Fascist lawyers from representing anti-Fascist clients, or accepting cases involving conflict with the party tendencies. The Secretary of the party is empowered to use his discretion as to the activities of the lawyers in cases involving anti-social or gravely immoral crimes.

Premier Mussolini is reported to be taking drastic measures to keep Italians from traveling merely on pleasure outside of Italy, and Italian papers have been ordered not to mention these measures. It is even said that Swiss women married to Italians are not permitted to return to Switzerland to visit relatives.



# Pangalos Dictatorship Overthrown in Greece

*Yugoslavia and Greece Sign Treaty of Friendship—Revolt in Albania—  
Further Notes Exchanged on Bulgarian Comitadji Raids—Pilsudski Made  
Supreme Head of Polish Army*

By **FREDERIC A. OGG**

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**A**S a result of her eighth revolution since the beginning of the century, Greece suddenly found herself, on the morning of Aug. 22, with a new Government. There had been some indications of trouble, and ex-Premier Kafandaris, together with several army officers, had recently been arrested on the charge of persistent anti-Government activities. General Condylis, however, had been exempted, and as late as Aug. 16 Premier Eutaxias publicly rejoiced that the army remained loyal to the Government.

The coup which upset the Pangalos dictatorship a week later was engineered by Condylis and supported by not only the army but the navy as well. Its object, as announced by its author, was to bring about "sound reorganization of the armed forces and the administrative machinery of the country," and the offenses with which General Pangalos was specifically charged included the abolition of the Constitution and liberties, the issuance of unlawful decrees, fraudulent traffic with commercial concerns, illegal death sentences and subscribing to numerous illicit acts by the members of his entourage and Mme. Pangalos.

The methods employed were not unlike those by which the deposed dictator tricked the country into accepting his own rule a year ago. In accordance with carefully laid plans, he was placed under arrest at Spetsai and put on board the steamer Pergamos to be taken to Athens; Admiral Condioti was installed again in the Presidency; public buildings were taken possession of and the army and navy sworn to support the new régime; and General Condylis, following an unsuccessful at-

tempt to organize a coalition Cabinet, appointed a temporary group of Ministers to serve until national elections should be held in the Autumn. There was little real resistance in any quarter, and practically no bloodshed.

It would be agreeable to look upon the overturn as marking an end of dictatorial misrule in Hellas, and very likely the change will prove to be for the better. The promises of reform that have been made are, however, no more reassuring than were those of General Pangalos a year ago, and the distressing fact remains that the army, and not the people, is the regular and accepted instrumentality of political change in Greece. Meanwhile, the deposed Pangalos is being held for trial; criminal charges will be pressed against him, and demand for the death penalty is heard in many quarters.

Five days before the revolution the Athens Government signed four commercial conventions with Yugoslavia, followed by a new treaty of friendship and amity. The last-mentioned instrument is regarded as a prelude to other similar treaties in the Balkans—the first step, in fact, to a Locarno compact in Southeastern Europe. It is drawn within the terms of the Covenant of the League of Nations on the basis of maintenance of territorial arrangements in the Balkans as defined by existing peace treaties. One important point, which it settles for a three-year term at least, is the conflict over the Saloniki railway. The railway from Saloniki to Guevkili, on the border, is recognized as Greek, and Yugoslavia releases all her rights over the line, formerly vested in the Oriental Railway, in return for 20,000,000 French francs. Dis-

putes are to be settled by a French umpire appointed by the League and the free zone at Saloniki is enlarged. Greece is now concluding negotiations with both Turkey and Albania which are expected to settle all unadjusted questions with those States. Greek and Bulgarian representatives, too, are working upon a new commercial treaty.

## Bulgaria

A SOURCE of continued bad feeling in the Balkans in recent years have been the recurring raids of comitadjis, or irregulars, carried on from Bulgarian soil across the frontiers of Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The three States lodged formal protest in 1922, leading the Sofia Government to request the Council of the League of Nations to send a commission to inquire into the matter. As the three neighbors objected to this procedure, however, nothing was done beyond obtaining from Sofia the concession that raiders, if caught in the act, might be pursued into Bulgaria.

Increased feeling on the subject has led to a series of steps containing the possibilities of serious consequences. A collective note was presented to the Bulgarian authorities on Aug. 11 by the diplomatic representatives of Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, demanding (1) that the Sofia Government instruct its frontier officials in the strict performance of their duties, the better to maintain good and neighborly relations, and in the due execution of the agreements entered into with Bulgaria for the joint prosecution of brigands, and (2) that the Government take measures to "put an end to the activities of revolutionary elements which are well known to it, and to prevent any recurrence of comitadji raids." As in 1922, the Sofia Govern-

ment turned to the League, and in the present instance a petition was actually sent asking that a commission of investigation be dispatched. Before the League are also numerous petitions by Macedonian organizations asking for an autonomous administration in Macedonia, either under the League or as a political entity in a Balkan federation. Both the League and Bulgaria have been warned from Belgrade that unless the Macedonian Interior Revolutionary Organization, alleged to be active in Bulgaria, is dissolved, Yugoslavia will be obliged to "end the intolerable situation" herself.

In a note of Aug. 27 Sofia replied to the communication of the three complaining powers, assuring them that she is as anxious as they to keep the peace, explaining that the army and police force allowed her under the terms of the treaty of Neuilly are not large enough to maintain a close border patrol, and saying that there will be no opposition in Bulgaria should the League of Nations decide to take the entire Balkan situation in hand. The Belgrade press on Sept. 2 expressed great dissatisfaction with this reply, on the ground that it offered no guarantees.



Wide World

GENERAL CONDYLIS  
Greece's latest dictator

## Czechoslovakia

THE last general election left the political situation so muddled that it has been next to impossible to find any party combination sufficiently strong to produce an effective Government. In this state of affairs the Slovak People's Party—whose representation in Parliament was almost doubled—has seen an excellent opportunity to press for full autonomy for Slovakia, which it makes the central plank in its platform, and it has taken the position that only after such autonomy is assured





NEIGHBORHOOD GOSSIP

—Editor's Feature Service

will it cooperate with any of the Czech parties in the government of the country. It would appear from this, therefore, that the Slovak question is not solving itself, or indeed giving promise of any solution capable of being reached by amicable means.

## Hungary

THE famous franc counterfeiting affair reached a new stage in the middle of August when the Appellate Court spent some days hearing the Attorney General's appeal for heavier sentences for some of the defendants and likewise appeals for lighter sentences or for acquittal by lawyers representing the several condemned persons.

Under the decision handed down by Judge Gado on Aug. 24, Windisch-Graetz and Nadossy must serve their original sentences of four years for their parts in the crime. The sentences imposed upon all of the other offenders were also reaffirmed, except in the case of Geroe Baba,

sary of the Battle of Mohacs, in which he indirectly referred to Yugoslavia, expressing the hope and belief that "the old friendship and understanding would soon be restored." This was in line with a speech by Count Bethlen in which he stated, as a warning, that unless the Danubian States compose their differences Hungary is almost certain to become ultimately the vassal of either Russia or Germany. There have already been overtures from Yugoslavia that have indicated a similar view.

## Rumania

PRIME MINISTER AVERESCU left Bucharest on Aug. 11 on a visit to Rome, where he was expected to undertake negotiations of more than ordinary significance. The four objects officially assigned the mission were (1) to arrange for the coming visit of the Rumanian King and Queen to Italy, (2) to conclude a concordat with the Vatican, with which Rumanian relations have been somewhat

who, having exonerated the Bethlen Government of foreknowledge of the counterfeiting scheme, had his period of imprisonment reduced to six months. The case will be appealed to the Supreme Court, whose jurisdiction is final.

On the night of Aug. 12 the only munitions factory left to Hungary by the peace treaties—the Manfred Weiss Munitions Works, situated on Csepel Island, in the middle of the Danube, ten miles south of Budapest—was practically destroyed by explosions and fire.

The monthly report of the Minister of Finance, covering July, was published on Sept. 1. A surplus of 4,500,000 crowns was revealed instead of an estimated 8,000,000 deficit.

Much significance was attached to a speech made by Admiral Horthy on Aug. 29, the four hundredth anniversary

strained for years, (3) to secure recognition by Italy of the annexation of Bessarabia, and (4) to ascertain the possibility of raising a larger loan for Rumania and securing the investment of Italian capital for development of Rumanian natural resources.

Forty prominent Rumanians, including ex-Premier Bratiano, have been summoned to appear as witnesses in a suit which leaders of the United Opposition have filed against General Stefanescu, Commander of the gendarmerie, charging him with interfering in the recent election with the freedom of candidates to carry on their canvass and of voters to cast their ballots.

Thirty Rumanian professors, jurists, journalists and students, including two ex-Ministers, arrived in the United States on Aug. 14 to make a study of the American educational system and promote intellectual relations between Rumania and this country. The party came as guests of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Queen Marie has decided to undertake her long contemplated visit to the United States during the Fall. She will be accompanied by her youngest (and only unmarried) daughter, Princess Ileana.

## Poland

UNDER the authority conferred upon him to administer the affairs of the country by decree during recesses of the Diet, President Moscicki issued upwards of threescore decrees within the space of a few days in late August, the whole going into effect at once instead of waiting for the Winter's wrangling in the Chambers. Most of these decrees were prepared by Finance Minister Klarnier and had to do with the mechanics of the nation's finances. A few, however, related to other matters, notably one establishing Marshal Pilsudski as supreme head of the army, answerable to no one. A still greater blow to the old system of legislation fell on Aug. 26, when the Government announced the completion of a so-called Legal Council, composed of twenty-six members and empowered to pass

judgment on both the expediency and the legality of every bill before it is submitted to Parliament. The Council will undoubtedly be expected also to interpose its veto upon measures unfavorable to the Government.

There has been a disposition in non-governmental circles to fear that the force of the May revolution has been spent and that the country is sinking back into the same lethargic state as before. It is feared, too, that the difficulties of the financial situation will prove incapable of being overcome, even with the aid of the Kemmerer mission, as it was reported that this mission had met with some opposition and disappointment, especially as a result of determined hostility of various Polish elements, mainly socialistic, to the present Finance Minister. Nevertheless, the general economic condition of the country is improving; several of the Kemmerer proposals for fiscal betterment have been adopted and are in effect; the country's \$10,000,000 debt to the Federal Reserve Bank of America was paid on Aug. 11, the day it was due; and the optimistic report which the Polish representatives presented to the League of Nations at the Geneva meetings of September seems broadly warranted. Farm relief is receiving much attention from the new Government, although comparatively little can be done without aid from foreign capital.

It was announced from Belgrade on Aug. 19 that Poland and Yugoslavia had agreed upon the text of a treaty of friendship and arbitration in conformity with the terms of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

## Albania

A REVOLT of some seriousness, engineered by Albanian malcontents recruited in Italy, was reported from the Provinces of Shilja and Malessia in the middle of August. Government troops, fleeing before the insurgents, crossed into Yugoslavia, where they were disarmed and interned, and Prince Ahmed Bey was forced to flee to Durazzo.

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# Stalin Dismisses Kamenev

*Soviet Government Begins Economy Campaign—Peasants Withhold Grain Because of Dissatisfaction With Prices—Socialist Parties of Baltic States Protest Against Interference in Agrarian Reform Laws*

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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THE struggle between the leaders of the Communist Party, which has openly been going on ever since the Fourteenth Party Congress last December, resulted in several important developments during the past month. It may be recalled that during the Congress Gregory Zinoviev, Leon Kamenev and others of their faction launched a bitter criticism against Stalin, Bukharin, Kalinin and their supporters, the charge being essentially that the latter were leading the party back into the "slough of capitalism" because of the fact that they had admitted the practical failure of military communism and advocated "a retreat on the economic front" and an intensification of the new economic policy (NEP). Since that time virtual warfare has been going on between the two elements which thus far has seemed to result in the triumph of the Stalin faction, a victory which has been further confirmed by the events of the past month.

In the first place, Joseph Stalin definitely emerges as the virtual "dictator of the Russian dictatorship," though ostensibly he retains his modest title of Secretary-General of the Communist Party. His absolute control of the Soviet Government has now been ably demonstrated by his instrumentality in the overthrow of six important men who opposed his policies, namely, Trotsky, Radek, Sokolnikov, Zinoviev, Lashevich and, finally, Kamenev. Kamenev, it was reported on Aug. 16, has been replaced as Commissar of Trade by a relatively unknown young Georgian, Ianasthasius Mikoian, and will now be at liberty to devote his time exclusively to the biography of Lenin on which he is working. Moreover, Piatakov, one of Trotsky's close friends and a leading member of the Opposition, has been suspended for two

months from his post as Vice President of the Supreme Council for National Economy, and another Oppositionist, Ossovsky, has been expelled from the party altogether for a "heretical" pamphlet advancing the thesis that the present state of affairs justifies the existence of a legitimate opposition, that is, a real two-party system in the Soviet Union.

The new "triumvirate," Stalin, Rykov and Quibescheff (Dzerjinski's successor), issued on Aug. 17 a pronunciamento asserting that the present "economy campaign" is not a mere temporary reform, but a new national and Communist Party policy aimed to solve Russia's chief internal problem—how to pay for the industrialization of the country. "The economy campaign," reads the statement, "proceeds from the fact that our industry cannot develop with required speed on its own assets and because additional assets are necessary. These assets must be found within our country. But in view of the present conditions of economic administration and in view of the present expensiveness and bureaucratism of our apparatus these assets are not forthcoming. It is therefore necessary to reduce, cheapen and simplify our productive, transport, commercial, co-operative, administrative, and other apparatus in order to release now and for the future hundreds of millions of rubles and to apply them to the industrialization of our country. There are two ways of obtaining these hundreds of millions. One way is to strip the peasants to the utmost, squeeze from them the maximum assets and apply these squeezed assets to the needs of industry. Some of our comrades (namely, the opposition groups) are trying to push us along this way. But we cannot follow it because it means a cleavage of the working class from the peasant."

try, rupture of the union of the peasants and workers, a smash of the proletarian dictatorship, impoverishment of the peasants and, perhaps, the weakening of industry itself. The other way is a rigorous restriction of the administrative apparatus from top to bottom, thus by a reduction of costs providing the hundreds of millions needed. Our economic and administrative apparatus spends 2,000,000,000 rubles a year. There is no shadow of a doubt that it is possible to cut down this by three or four hundred millions which can then be applied to the needs of industry. It is not only possible but absolutely necessary. There are the two ways. There is no third."

This necessity for the speedy industrialization of the country and the rapid production of sufficient manufactured goods to meet the peasants' demand at prices within the peasants' reach was brought home with particular force during August. Reports during the entire month indicated that in spite of a large grain harvest the State grain-purchasing campaign was meeting with failure because of the peasants' unwillingness to part with their grain, since the amount of manufactured goods they could get in return—being one-third to one-fourth of the pre-war amount—was not considered adequate; in fact, it was reported that they seemed to prefer keeping the grain for their own use and doing with makeshifts, incidentally reviving such village industries as spinning, weaving and shoe and tool making.

An indication that the "economy policy" is being actively pursued was given by a report on Aug. 26 that the Supreme Economic Council had taken over many important functions hitherto exercised by the Trade Commissariat, the Concessions Commission and the Finance Department, and that it had been invested with powers hitherto enjoyed by the Economic Councils of the republics forming the Union, an important centralization of power which would be expected to effect economies in administration.

The New York *Journal of Commerce* on Aug. 25 issued a

forty-page Russian supplement devoted to articles setting forth existing opportunities for the investment of American capital in Russian enterprises. The following message from M. Kamenev, former Foreign Trade Commissar, sounded the keynote of the issue: "In trade and industry there is no divergence of interests between the United States and the U. S. S. R. They can, and therefore should, work hand in hand on the basis of peace and friendly cooperation." Some of the important and representative Russian contributors were A. Yoffe, Vice Chairman of the Chief Concessions Committee; V. H. Ksandrov, President of the Prombank; F. F. Kilevitz, President of the All-Union Textile Syndicate; A. Prigarin, head of Amtorg, N. Y.; A. M. Postnikov, Transport Commissar, and V. Vishnev, Chief Inspector of Air Transport. H. Parker Willis, editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, who returned this Summer from a trip of investigation in Russia, stressed the following points in his article on opportunities for American business: First, that there is no question as to the stability of the present Russian Government; second, that contracts into which the present Government have entered have been, and will be, scru-



DZERJINSKI IN THE OTHER WORLD

Ivan the Terrible: "At last some one who can understand me!"

—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam



pulously observed; third, that Russia's foreign trade relationships are now a Government monopoly for the most part, which would tend to lessen the credit risks; and fourth, that the field for development is tremendous and has hardly been touched.

It was reported on Aug. 14 that amnesty would be granted by the Soviet Government to fourteen German nationals now in jail in various parts of Russia in return for the release by Germany of Alexis Skoblevsky, Communist leader, who has been serving a life sentence for murder in a German prison. A large counter-revolutionary movement in the Crimea which was uncovered during the Winter resulted in the arrest and detention for trial of twenty-seven men and women, including some ex-

officers of General Wrangel's army. Meanwhile, rumors continued to circulate of plots and defections in the personnel of the Red Army; according to a report of Aug. 19, 20 per cent. of the army officers were known to be actively hostile to the Soviet authorities and were influencing the soldiers.

The *Whitehall Gazette* of London published during August a report by its Foreign Commissioner, who had just completed a survey of social conditions in the Soviet Republics. He stated, among other facts, that in Moscow alone over 65,000 homeless children were registered and that during the past eight months 11,000 crimes were reported among the children of Moscow, 4,730 of them being imprisoned.

## NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

A JOINT conference of representatives of the Socialist Parties of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania was held in Riga during the month of August. A resolution was passed to serve formal notice on the League of Nations that serious trouble might follow if it attempted to interfere with the administration of the agrarian reform laws, as a result of charges filed in 1925 and 1926 by the former large land-owners of Lithuania and Estonia to the effect that the laws were being used to oppress Teuton minorities. Some of the important statements in the resolution were as follows:

Land reform is a necessary economic reform which provides the large classes of the landless and peasant farmers with land. Land reform is the economic basis of the independent and democratic Baltic States, as without its introduction the domestic political stability of these States would not have been possible. Land reform is not directed against national minorities, but against a social minority—against a small handful of feudal aristocratic landowners.

Land reform, as an economic reform, lies within the competence of the domestic legislation of the State and is in no way subject to the consent of the League of Nations. A possible intervention by the League of Nations in the affairs of land reform may provoke such sharp social and political struggles as may threaten the peaceful development of the Baltic States to a serious degree.

The parties represented at the conference will continue the decisive fight for the defense of land reform. And in this fight for the defense of one of the most important victories of the revolution and for the self-determination of the people, the parties will make use of all possible means at their disposal.

As the Socialist parties of the Baltic States represent a large fraction of the population and generally work together with the peasants in the matter of land reform, the threat "to use all possible means" would seem to be more than a gesture.

The Riga conference also recommended a practical unification of the customs and railway systems and of the social legislation of the three countries. Great stress was laid upon the need of building up trade with Russia. The inclusion of Lithuania and Finland in the political federation already existing between Estonia and Latvia and the extension to Russia of the guarantee treaty in process of negotiation among the Baltic States were also urged. The problem of Vilna was discussed, and the conference decided that the inhabitants of that district ought to have a chance to decide their political fate for themselves by democratic methods. A resolution to fight the spread of Fascist doctrines within the States was also passed. A. B. D.

# Spanish Dictatorship Faced by Mutiny in Army

*Sweden's Concern in Revival of Aaland Islands Question—Bourgeois Parties  
Uniting Against Swedish Labor—Norwegian Workers Seeking Political Unity*

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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THE statement by Señor Yanguas, Spanish Foreign Minister, made after a Cabinet meeting of Sept. 3, that historic events were being prepared and would soon be made known to the public, was partially confirmed by the events of Sept. 4 and 5, namely: the announcement that a plebiscite on Primo de Rivera's rule would be held and the proclamation of martial law throughout Spain as the result of a mutiny among the officers of the artillery corps and cadets. Insistent rumors in the press during the latter part of August, despite a strict censorship of communications leaving Spain, indicated that all was not well with internal politics and that disaffection toward de Rivera's régime was spreading throughout the Spanish Army because of the old grievance over his establishment of a system of promotion by selection instead of the former promotion by seniority.

In spite of the Premier's statement to the press on Aug. 30 that "complete order and absolute calm prevailed in the kingdom," the rumors persisted, and the King's appointment on Sept. 3 of General Damaso Berenguer, former High Commissioner of Morocco and rival of de Rivera, as chief of his military household

was regarded as highly significant. The subsequent announcement by de Rivera of a plebiscite to decide for or against the convocation of the National Assembly at the advice, it was reported, of the Patriotic Union Party, was viewed as a move to counteract both the military disturbances and the popular dissatisfaction at his recent failures with regard to Tangier and Spain's seat on the League of Nations Council. In spite of this



GREEN APPLE TIME IN EUROPE

—Middletown Herald





MAP OF SPAIN

Soviet Government does not recognize as binding the League agreements made shortly after the war as regards the Aaland Islands. Though populated almost entirely by Swedes, these islands were awarded by the League of Nations to Finland, with the stipulation that they were to be forever neutralized and kept free of fortifications, a solution that Sweden accepted out of loyalty to the League. As the islands had been under Russian sovereignty for over 100 years, having been taken from Sweden after the war of 1809, it would seem that any disposition of them

act on Sept. 3 it was reported that a serious mutiny among the artillery corps and cadets had occurred at several points in the country; and that the King had signed royal decrees severely punishing the officers of the corps and proclaiming martial law throughout Spain and her islands. The latest Government reports declared that the mutiny had been completely suppressed, but in view of the policy of strict censorship doubts were expressed in some quarters as to the completeness of the Government's success and the security of de Rivera's position.

Alfonso, Prince of Asturias, heir apparent to the Spanish throne, who has frequently been in bad health since his birth, was recently reported to be in such an alarming condition that a movement was on foot to have the King's third son, Prince Juan, 13 years old, named as heir apparent in his stead. Prince Jaime, the King's second son, is also an invalid.

A severe earthquake occurred on Aug. 31 in the Azores Islands, practically destroying the city of Horta on Fayal Island and causing many casualties.

### Sweden

THE inconvenience of having Russia outside the League of Nations was brought home to Swedish public opinion by renewed intimations that the

would naturally interest Russia chiefly, but Russian diplomats have repeatedly suggested that the country best pleased with the compromise was Great Britain.

Recently the Russian authorities have intimated in two ways that they are by no means satisfied that the question of the Aaland Islands and their international status is settled. The first reference to the subject was in formal correspondence sent to the Government of Finland in which the Soviet Government declared that it was ready to discuss with Finland the "subject of the Aaland Islands in all its aspects." This caused no little uneasiness in Sweden, where the compromise under the League auspices was by no means popular, but where, nevertheless, it was assumed to be final.

Next came the same intimation in the form of an interview between a correspondent of the Danish daily, *Politiken*, and the director of the Baltic section of the Russian Foreign Office, Loganovski, who declared very bluntly that the Aaland Islands question was as open as ever and that "it concerns only the Soviet Union and Finland." When asked whether Russia really demanded the islands back, the Soviet spokesman replied evasively that "the Aaland question is for us of the utmost importance. So far as we are concerned it has not been settled,

but we are ready to negotiate with Finland. What we shall particularly oppose is that the islands might be used by a third power as a naval base. The interest in them of the Soviet Union is consequently one of a strategic nature." He also admitted that Sweden might have a smaller interest, but insisted that for the time being the question concerned only Finland and Russia.

Though a supporter of the army reduction voted last year, Premier Carl Gustav Ekman declared in an interview that any power attacking Sweden must reckon with "an effective resistance," and indirectly the Government let it be known that the dissolution of certain regiments involved in the army reduction scheme of 1925 would be postponed until 1928. Some of these regiments are 300 years old or over, and the Government faces suits for loss of tax income from the cities where they have been located. There was a background of domestic politics to these new manifestations of concern for the national defense on the part of the Popular Party chiefs after they had succeeded the Social Democrats in the Government of Sweden. Last year a combination of the Popular Party, the Social Democrats and certain members of the Liberal faction now represented in the Government, put through the army reduction bill in the face of the Conservative Opposition. Now the Populists and Liberals are in office, and on account of disagreements with the Social Democrats over domestic affairs a rapprochement with the Conservatives has been formed with a view to common action against the Labor elements at the local elections this Fall. In several districts there has been an alliance of all the bourgeois groups, and as the national defense question had been the chief cause of the previous split, Premier Ekman's new concern for the army was interpreted as a concession to the parties of the Right.

In foreign affairs Swedish policy continued unchanged, as shown by the conclusion of another treaty of conciliation and arbitration with a foreign power, this time Austria, the eighth of a series. This had been negotiated by the Social-Democratic Government before it went out of office. Professor Oesten Unden, former

Foreign Minister, was appointed to represent Sweden at the meeting of the League of Nations Council—no small honor to a man out of office.

## Norway

IN an effort to consolidate the political strength of the workers of Norway, the Norwegian Labor Party recently invited the Social Democrats to meet in conference with the purpose of forming a new union. In 1923, when dissension arose over the policy of international cooperation, the labor element in Norway split into three mutually hostile groups, the Social Democrats, according to the press reports, agreed to discuss the formation of a new and united party on the assurance that the party, if formed, would pursue a purely national policy, unattached to the Amsterdam International or the Third International. The settlement of the recent general strike in Norway, which affected 30,000 men in the iron, textile and boot industries, included a wage cut of about 17 per cent., and was considered unsatisfactory by many workers. The demonstrated weakness of labor during this strike was put forward as a strong reason for an attempt to gain political unity within the Labor Party.

In a boat believed to be a counterpart of the ship in which Leif Ericsson crossed the Atlantic about 900 years ago, Captain Gerhard Golgero and a crew of three arrived at Boston on Aug. 10. The little ship left Bergen, Norway, for Iceland, crossed to Greenland, Labrador and Newfoundland, and reached St. Johns, N. F., sixty days from Bergen.

## Denmark

THE provisions of the treaty of arbitration and mediation between Denmark and Germany, which was signed on June 2, are: That all questions of right shall be settled with binding force by an arbitration court especially appointed in each case; and that in case Germany joins the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague or is admitted to the League of Nations, legal disputes may be submitted



to The Hague Court after one month's notice from either side. The treaty became effective in July and binds the two nations for ten years, after which it is to remain in force automatically for periods of five years unless notice of intention to annul it is given by one of the contracting parties.

Dr. Anton Bast, Methodist Episcopal Bishop of Scandinavia, who was convicted last March of converting to his own use money collected in the United States for charities in Scandinavia, was released from prison in Copenhagen on Aug. 21

after serving a jail sentence of three months.

## Holland

A RECORD of cruising 10,000 miles without a convoy was made by the Dutch submarine K-XIII, which sailed from Helder, Holland, on May 27 and arrived in San Francisco late in August. The voyage was made by way of the Azores, Las Palmas, Curaçao, Colon, the Panama Canal and Mazatlan, Mexico, the ultimate objective being Surabaya, the Dutch naval base in the East Indies.

### [TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST]

## More Turkish Politicians Hanged as Traitors

*Jews Claim Minority Rights in Turkey—Commission to Investigate Administration of Egypt—The War in Syria—British Cancel Claims on Iraq—Proposed Loan to Palestine—A Moslem League of Nations in the Making*

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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ANOTHER grim chapter in the recent history of Turkey came to an end at Angora just before midnight on Aug. 26, when four distinguished Turks, formerly members of the Committee and Party of Union and Progress, were hanged on the charge of plotting against the life of President Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Of these Javid Bey was the ablest and had rendered great services to his country as Finance Minister; Dr. Nazim Bey had been a leader in the revolt against Abdul Hamid's Government in 1908, and had served as Minister of Education; Hilmi Bey had been a Deputy, and Nail Bey had been Secretary of the party. All died calmly, bravely and with protestations of innocence.

In spite of their condemnation by the Tribunal of Independence upon the urgent recommendation of the Public Prosecutor, Nejib Ali Bey, doubt exists as to their having had any part in a plot to kill the President. As leaders of a rival group—Javid Bey had been prominent in organizing the Progressive Party, largely composed of former members of the Party of Union and

Progress—they desired no doubt to replace the governing group with men of a somewhat different opinion, as Democrats may seek to displace Republicans in America. However the Turkish mentality appears not yet to understand the bloodless and ordered revolutions of Western party government. After the Kurdish revolt of 1925 the position of these opposition leaders became precarious, and the Smyrna plot against Mustapha Kemal gave the signal for taking their lives. The record of the group to which they belonged was, moreover, very bad. Whereas the revolution of 1908 was hailed with general joy and approval, the Party of Union and Progress after a year or two bore down with great cruelty upon Albanians, Macedonians and Arabs; after being driven from power in 1912 it came back again in 1913 through a coup d'état that was not bloodless; it pushed Turkey into the Great War against the will of the Sultan, Cabinet and people; it conducted the deportation and massacres of the Armenians, and it showed no mercy to its own faithful soldiers and citizens.



Map of Turkey

Abdul Kadir Bey, formerly Governor of Angora and one of those condemned to death in June at Smyrna *in absentia*, was captured while attempting to escape across the border into Bulgaria and sent to Angora, where he was hanged on Aug. 31.

During the last of August it was reported from Constantinople that another plot against the President had been uncovered, and that two arrests had been made.

Rauf Bey, formerly Prime Minister, Rahim Bey, formerly Governor of Smyrna, and five others were ordered banished for life. Dr. Adnan Bey, who is safely out of the country, was declared acquitted, and Russein Jasid Bey was pardoned.

All foreign Chambers of Commerce in Turkey were ordered closed on Aug. 12 on the ground of illegality under the new Turkish laws, which provide that foreign business may form an association or society, but only one Chamber of Commerce may exist, and that Turkish. Vigorous objections were made to this interference with business without notice, and formal protests were made by official representatives. A few days later word was sent from the Turkish Foreign Office that an error had been made; the Chambers of Commerce might remain open but they would be asked to change their names. To this the British and American authorities replied that their organizations were incorporated and that the names could not be changed. The reply

to this was a letter from the Government to the British Chamber on Aug. 31, requesting it to change its name within fifteen days.

Early in August seventy Jewish notables of Turkey met at Constantinople as a "Jewish National Assembly," and renounced their claim to national minority rights, as provided by the Treaty of Lausanne. At the same time they asked the Turkish Government for legislation such as would allow them some special organization, with the right to support schools and charitable institutions.

Emile Daeschner, former Ambassador to the United States, was appointed French Ambassador to Turkey on Aug. 28.

## Egypt

THE resignation, accepted by the British Government on July 17, of Sir Geoffrey Archer as Governor General of the Sudan, aroused considerable comment, when coupled with the early departure of the High Commissioner, Lord Lloyd, for England and the postponement of King Fuad's European trip.

Parliament reassembled after the religious holidays and entered upon a course of moderately vigorous action, under the presidency of Zaghlul Pasha. Commissions were appointed to report on the decrees and investigate the financial measures of the administration of Ziwar Pasha. Acting on the theory that Ziwar had dismissed



the two previous Parliaments unconstitutionally, all the decree-laws which he promulgated were held to be illegal. The first named commission recommended that a portion of these laws be validated and that the remainder, especially those relating to elections, be declared null and void. These recommendations were put into effect by the Parliament on Aug. 7.

The Finance Commission recommended late in July that a powerful commission of inquiry should be appointed to investigate the entire administration of Egypt and recommend appropriate reorganization, especially with a view to economy. Meanwhile a new schedule of salaries should be drawn up by the Minister of Finance, all increases in pay should be withheld, and promotions should be allowed only in exceptional cases. There was great agitation among Government officials, which was allayed by a motion to allow increases of salary to those from whom such had been withheld under Ziwar Pasha.

Seats have been found in the Chamber of Deputies for Ahmed Pasha Maher and Mahmud Effendi Nekrash, former officials under Zaghlul Pasha's premiership, who were among the group accused and acquitted of plotting the murder of several Englishmen.

Complaints have arisen again as regards the treatment of pilgrims from Egypt while in the Hejaz. King Ibn Saud is accused of having permitted the destruction of sacred buildings, of countenancing exactions, and of failing to control the Bedouins, who are apt to rob and maltreat pilgrims.

## Iraq

SHORTLY before the departure of King Faisal for Europe, Sir Henry Dobbs, the British High Commissioner, announced that his Government had canceled claims upon Iraq to the value of about \$5,000,000. This debt was based upon roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, and irrigation works which were constructed by the British during the war, and which are of permanent value to the country.

The King was accompanied on his trip by Naji Beg al Suwaidi, Minister of Justice. The Regent, in the King's absence was his brother, Ali, formerly King of the

Hejaz. An unsuccessful attempt was made on Aug. 10 upon the life of the Prime Minister, Sir Abdul Muhsin Beg al Sadun.

## Syria

THE oasis of Ghuta suffered severely in the struggle which began there July 19 and continued nearly four weeks. This oasis is the very life of Damascus, containing about 300 square miles, and producing foodstuffs valued at \$5,000,000. About twenty villages are distributed through it. The insurgent Druses and Arabs had established a military headquarters with considerable modern equipment in the oasis. The French, determined to destroy its military value, bombarded various spots, to the destruction of orchards and villages, permitted Circassian and Armenian irregular troops to sack and plunder (and to sell their booty openly in Damascus), and diverted the waters of the Barada River so as to ruin temporarily a large part of the irrigation system which sustains the oasis. The insurgents retaliated by cutting off the water supply of Damascus temporarily, and by fierce counter-attacks at various points. The French view of the results was announced Aug. 15 as follows:

Five thousand rebels who held suburban districts surrounding Damascus were completely dispersed and have returned to their villages. Only a few chiefs are vainly attempting to remain in the field. Normal life again prevails in Northern Lebanon. Gradually Southern Lebanon also is returning to normal conditions. The most important rebel leaders have asked to make submission. The rebel movement may now be considered to be completely quelled.

Two weeks later fresh fighting on a small scale was reported at three widely separated places.

A new High Commissioner, Auguste Henri Bonsot, has been appointed.

## Palestine

THE surplus balance in the Treasury, which was \$2,500,000 for the fiscal year ending in 1925, was \$6,000,000 for that ending in 1926, revealing unexpected progress. The budget for 1926-27 proposes an expenditure of \$10,500,000, which, among other items, allots \$1,500,000 for police and prisons, and only \$600,-

000, not 6 per cent. of the total budget, for education. The 804 schools of Palestine contain 64,764 pupils, far less than 10 per cent. of the population.

Exports for the calendar year 1925 of Palestinian produce, including 2,140,000 boxes of oranges, amounted to about \$6,000,000, while imports were valued at \$38,000,000.

A new water supply was opened for Jerusalem on July 15.

Of the 34,641 immigrants who during 1925 entered Palestine 33,801 were Jews, 16,989 coming from Poland, 8,500 from other regions formerly within the Russian Empire, and 594 from the United States. The total number is three times that of 1924. Emigration amounted to 4,090 including 2,145 Jews, 1,201 Christians, and 748 Moslems.

Palestine owes \$6,000,000 to the British Government for net advances since the great war. Its share of the pre-war Ottoman public debt is 3,284,429 Turkish pounds, which at gold value amounts to about \$14,500,000. An additional \$5,000,000 is deemed to be due the British Government for railways, roads, telegraphs, and other capital assets. A loan has been planned to be issued in the Autumn to the amount of \$22,500,000, some \$15,000,000 of which will be used to pay portions of these debts, while the remainder will be used chiefly for internal improvements, such as railways and the development of the Port of Haifa. For the last purpose \$575,000 was appropriated recently. Objection has been raised to the proposed loan because the term of forty years seems to imply the extension of the British mandate over that period of time; it is asserted that without any loan a continuance of the policy of rigid economy would bring the country out of debt within twenty years.



Map of Afghanistan

Some 15,000 acres of land, including most of the littoral of the beautiful bay which extends from Haifa to Jaffa, has been bought up by the Haifa Bay Development Company, a Jewish organization, which plans a modern type of real estate development, including commercial, residential, industrial, and agricultural districts.

## Afghanistan

IT is reported that the dispute between Afghanistan and the Soviet with regard to the possession of an island in the Oxus above Balkh has not yet been settled. The Oxus is the boundary between Afghanistan and Russian Turkestan and a few months ago an island formed in the river. The Afghans promptly occupied the island but were expelled by a Soviet force. The Russians have not abandoned their claim, but the Afghans are now again in possession pending a settlement.

## Arabia

PARTIAL reports have been received of the important Moslem Congress, which, responding to the second invitation of the King-Sultan Ibn Saud, was opened by him at Mecca on June 6. It appears that the question of the Caliphate, on which agree-



ment could not have been expected, was left decidedly in the background. Ibn Saud suggested that the Hejaz be neutralized by all independent Moslem States, who should jointly preserve it from the results of conflict and provide increasingly for its welfare. This is a self-denying proposal by a successful conqueror which has few parallels in history. He further proposed, in line with Wahabi religious zeal, that all the population of the Hejaz be subject to the Sheri, or Moslem religious law, and that no concessions whatever be permitted to Europeans or other non-Moslems. In this plan may be seen a shrewd comprehension of the economic situation, involving the maintenance of the old Moslem policy of resisting the very beginnings of "peaceful penetration" by foreigners into the sacred regions of Islam. It was planned, subject to the above conditions, to construct a railway from Jeddah to Mecca, and join it to the Hejaz railway at Medina, and ultimately extend it to Yambo. Better field hospitals for pilgrims are to be provided, the water system of Mecca is to be reconstructed, and broad roads are to be laid. The Congress sat ten hours per day for a number of days. It may perhaps be regarded as the beginning of a League of Nations for the Moslem peoples.

At least twelve nationalities were represented, not including, however, Turkey, Persia and Yemen. Since the conference an agreement has been reached between Ibn Saud and the Imam Yahya, Sultan of Yemen, looking toward a treaty of peace and amity.

A report at the end of July affirmed that Ibn Saud had discovered among his near relatives a plot to assassinate him, and that in good Oriental fashion he had placed the conspirators beyond all possibility of harming him.

## Persia

LATE in July the Turcomans, who had occupied Bujnurd and Shirvan, were reported to have been driven out and pursued until they crossed the Russian frontier.

The disturbances in the northwest have been closely connected with the closing of the Russian frontier. Merchants faced with ruin have listened to talk of secession, the plan being that the Persian Province of Azerbaijan should join the adjacent Soviet republic of the same name. Some troops revolted, slew their commanders and plundered the bazaar and the Government buildings, notably in Dilman and Khoy.

[THE FAR EAST]

## Wu's New Campaign in Southern China

*Customs Equality and Tariff Reciprocity in Treaty Between China and Austria  
—Powers Protest Against Chinese Loan—Japan Directs Emigration Toward Colonies*

By QUINCY WRIGHT

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IMPORTANT but not decisive military events occurred in China during August.

It will be recalled that Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin combined in the Spring of 1926 to oust from Peking the Kuominchun (Nationalist) forces of Marshal Feng, who retired to the northeast and established himself in Nankow Pass with Kalgan as his base. The strength of this position, defections in the allied armies of Wu Pei-

fu and Chang Tso-lin, and lack of agreement between these two Generals, combined to produce a deadlock. This situation changed on Aug. 16, when the Kuominchun forces unexpectedly withdrew from their positions and retired westward toward Fengchen in the Province of Shansi. The allied forces claimed a great victory, but another report indicates that the Kuominchun armies evacuated their lines two days



before their retreat was discovered. The allied troops pressed forward to occupy Nankow, Hwailai and Kalgan, which was taken on Aug. 20. By Aug. 23 train service between Peking and Kalgan was resumed.

In the South, Wu's forces regained and again lost Yochow, and continued to be hard pressed by the Cantonese forces. Here the outcome may depend upon the attitude finally assumed by General Sun, dictator of the five provinces. Sun has maintained an independent attitude, although his representative, Yang Wen-Kai, is Minister of Agriculture and Commerce in the Peking Cabinet. On July 27, Sun is reported to have telegraphed Wu that the situation in the South along the Yangtse had become critical and that Wu's personal leadership was needed. Wu was unwilling to leave before the defeat of the Kuominchun forces at Hwailai, and urged Sun to take the field against General Chiang, the Cantonese leader. The retreat of the Feng Kuominchun army opened the way for Wu to turn to the South, and he immediately left for Hankow. River transportation between Hunan and Hupen was suspended for a time, but later resumed upon the protest of the Consular Body.

Meanwhile events increased the difficulty of his task. Cheng appears to be content to consolidate his gains near Kalgan leaving the Kuominchun army intact, an army now reinforced by the return of Feng from Moscow, while strengthening himself in the North during Wu's absence. It is reported that Feng has allied himself with the Canton Red army which is on the offensive against Wu in the neighborhood of Hsiennung. And General Sun refuses to allow his troops to move against the Cantonese, preferring merely to defend the borders of Kiangsi Province against possible invasion, but constantly threatening to break the line of communications of the Canton forces. The main interest therefore centres for the moment in the southern campaign now personally conducted by Wu against the Canton Red army, and in the new developments which may be expected from the return of Feng from his conversations with the Soviet Government at Moscow.

The development of the Hunan campaign

against Wu stirred the Canton Government to attempt to reach a settlement of the Hongkong boycott, as it hopes for much needed loans from British sources. Conferences were held looking toward a loan, and involving proposals for certain railroad developments. It was pointed out however, that a loan would be regarded as unfriendly by Chang and Wu.

The United States gunboat Elcano was fired upon on Sept. 3 seven miles below Wuchang by Cantonese forces attacking the city, according to a dispatch received from Hankow. The gunboat was not seriously damaged. The Elcano, commanded by Lieut. Commander A. S. Merrill, was patrolling the Yangtse River with several other foreign warships to protect their nationals from injury in the conflict between Cantonese troops and Northern troops under Marshal Wu Pei-fu.

The American church general hospital at Wuchang was also struck more than twenty times by shells and bullets, according to the same report. No Americans were killed or wounded. Although no outbreak was reported in Hankow, there was considerable excitement there and international naval units and volunteers were stationed as a precautionary measure.

Gunboats of the Northern forces raked the enemy's lines with heavy fire from the Yangtse River, aiding reinforcements from Honan Province in stiffening the stubborn resistance of Wu Pei-fu's troops.

Chang Tsung-chang, Governor of Shantung Province, was preparing to send 60,000 of his soldiers to support Wu Pei-fu, war lord of the central provinces, it was reported.

Martial law was proclaimed in the Peking area by Chang Tsung-chang, who already had put it into effect at all points along the Peking-Nanking Railway.

While no progress has been made with the Customs Conference, China has taken the first step toward freedom in customs by denouncing her treaty with Belgium which expires on Oct. 29. A commercial treaty with Austria was negotiated, which recognized absolute customs equality and called for tariff reciprocity. This treaty is to be used as a model for treaties with other nations, and has already been proposed to Belgium. Other treaties terminat-



ing in the near future include agreements with Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, France and Holland. On Aug. 27, Foreign Minister Vandervelde indicated that Belgium was favorable to the abolition of the existing unequal treaties with China, but declared that the conclusion of new treaties was contingent upon the emergence of a stable Government, and upon the termination of the customs and extraterritoriality conferences now suspended in Peking.

Meanwhile detention of salt funds which should be remitted to Peking apparently continues. General Sun stated that he would not remit any more money unless Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria and Tupan Chang Tsung-Chang in Shantung made remittances. The Tupan of Shansi said he would remit after the war was over. The Tupan of Hupeh asserted that he had a special agreement with the Salt Inspectorate to retain a part of the revenue from his province.

The disintegration of authority so far as foreign countries are concerned continued.

Thomas F. Millard, writing from Shanghai, declared that "in the accepted national and international meanings there is no Government here." Eugene Chen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Canton Government, replying to the American Ambassador's deprecation of the lack of unity among the Chinese people, referred to the American failure to realize that the Chinese situation was fundamentally a revolutionary situation and that therefore a revolutionary, i. e., a fundamental, solution was required. Chen also declared that his Government would repudiate all loans concluded with Wu and Chang, and asserted "the resumption of the special tariff conference will be viewed by my Government as a deliberate attempt on the part of the United States and other international powers to convert the Chinese maritime customs from a politico-fiscal organ into an engine of war finance and foreign intervention in China's civil war, or, rather, revolutionary wars."

Both British and American foreign agents seem to have been obliged to deal



Map of part of the Far East



directly with General Sun and Eugene Chen, although in no case admitting recognition. Thus Douglas Jenkins, American Consul General at Canton, wrote to Chen: "While this Consulate General is pleased to correspond directly with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, it is, of course, understood recognition is not implied."

The United States Government entered a strong protest against a proposed Chinese loan amounting to 25,000,000 silver dollars, to be secured by proceeds from the maritime customs revenue for the service of the ninth domestic loan, which will be discharged in 1927. The note called attention to numerous unfulfilled liabilities of the Chinese Government to American citizens and companies, and insisted that these obligations have a prior claim on the anticipated customs surplus. The British, French and Japanese Legations also lodged individual complaints against this loan.

## Japan

AN important announcement from the Japanese Foreign Office seemed to indicate a change of policy with regard to emigration. Announcing the opening of the South Pacific Trade Conference at Tokyo on Oct. 9, a spokesman of the Foreign Office declared that in view of the ill-feeling aroused by sending her surplus population to other countries, Japan intended in the future to concentrate upon

encouraging migration to Hokkaido, Formosa, and other possessions. Later dispatches indicated that financial embarrassment was responsible for this change of policy.

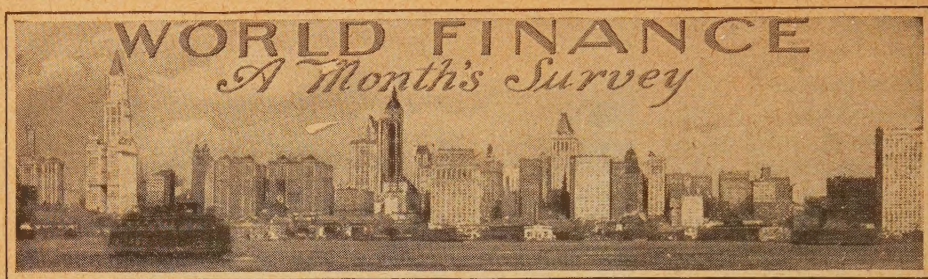
Coupled with this announcement may be read the decision of the United States District Court for Oregon awarding damages to Japanese for forcible dispossession from their homes by a mob in Toledo, Ore. This decision established the right of Japanese to work where they will.

The Hanyehping Iron Works at Hankow, China, which figured prominently in the famous twenty-one demands, are idle for lack of adequate capital. An appeal has been made to Japan for additional funds.



Map of Japan and neighboring countries





By FRANCIS H. SISSON

THE incorporation into the Constitution of France of provisions for a sinking fund to amortize the floating debt of that country was the dominant development in finance abroad during the past month, while an advance in the rediscount rate of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent. on Aug. 12 was the outstanding event in the United States.

The latter change had comparatively little effect on the course of the financial markets. The disposition which has been apparent in the recent past to assume that the discount rate policy of the Federal Reserve system is directed at the stock market has partly disappeared. The slight stiffening of money rates in the last few weeks, the approaching peak of seasonal demand for credit and the fact that the rate of the New York bank has been below the level for the system as a whole afford adequate explanation for the change. There is no reason to suppose that the officials of the bank regard the present volume of rediscounting as abnormal or that any pronounced tightness in the money market is foreseen.

Notes of a parent corporation to finance the purchase of automobiles to be used by its subsidiary are not eligible for rediscount at the Federal Reserve banks, the Federal Reserve Board declared in a ruling issued on Aug. 11.

A reduction from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 per cent. in the interest rate on new loans issued for the Federal Land Bank of Wichita, Kan., which serves Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado and New Mexico, was announced on Aug. 16 by the Federal Farm Loan Board. Acting Secretary Winston of the Treasury expressed the opinion that this action would assist farmers considerably, but he stated that the difficulties of the farmers included other than fiscal problems.

#### GOLD TIDE INCREASES

The extent to which the tide of gold has again turned toward America is apparent from the imports and exports of that metal. For the first seven months of 1926 the imports of gold were \$142,939,807, compared with \$50,870,616 for the corresponding period in 1925, an increase of \$92,069,191. For the first seven months of 1926 the exports of gold were only \$46,804,600, com-

pared with \$195,353,911, a decrease of \$148,548,311. Thus, while there was an excess of exports of gold in the first seven months of 1925 of \$144,482,295, there was an excess of imports of gold in the initial seven months of 1926 of \$96,135,207.

#### GOLD FROM AUSTRALIA

A record shipment of \$30,000,000 of gold from Australia arrived in San Francisco on Aug. 18. It was sent to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and held for the account of the Bank of England. While no official statement was made concerning the shipment, the financial district assumed that it was made to obviate the necessity of gold shipments from London to New York at a time of heavy seasonal commodity purchases in this market by British interests. The seasonal drain on sterling exchange is beginning, due to British purchases of cotton, grain and other products, and these usual expenditures have been augmented this year by purchases of large amounts of American coal as a result of the British strike.

#### GOLD SHIPPED TO GERMANY

The Federal Reserve Bank of New York announced on Aug. 14 that \$7,500,000 gold had been shipped to Germany, representing part of the "ear-marked" gold held here as an external reserve of the German Reichsbank. This followed a similar shipment of \$2,500,000 in the preceding week. Other such shipments for the account of the Reichsbank have been made before, but the present movement is the largest in several months.

Germany began its accumulation of its present gold holdings in this country with the flotation of the \$110,000,000 German loan in October, 1924, in connection with the Dawes plan. Parts of the gold holdings have been shipped to Germany as the Government called for them.

#### GOLD STANDARD PROPOSED FOR INDIA

The establishment of an absolute gold standard effective in 1931, with the rupee stabilized at 1s. 5d. and the creation of a new central reserve banking institution, are among the principal rec-

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